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THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, OCTOBER 1, 1849.

For the National Era.

MR. CALHOUN AND COL. BENTON.—No. 3.

But, Mr. Calhoun argues it is "a great misconception of the character and object of the General Government to suppose that it has the power either to establish or abolish Slavery, or any other property, where its authority extends beyond the States, regarded individually. Its authority is but the united and joint authority of the several States, conferred upon it by a Constitution, adopted on mutual agreement, but by the separate act of each State, in like manner, in every respect, as each adopted its own separate Constitution, with the single exception that one was adopted without and the other on mutual agreement of all the States. It is, then, in fact, the Constitution of each State, as much so as its own separate Constitution, and is only the Constitution of all the States, because it is that of each. As the Constitution made the General Government, that, too, is, in like manner, as much the Government of each State as its own separate Government, and only the Government of all, because it is the Government of each. So likewise are its laws; and for the same reason. Its authority, then, is but the united and common authority of the several States, delegated by each, to be exercised for the mutual benefit of each and all, and for the greater security of the rights and interests of each and all. It was for that purpose the States united in a Federal Union, and adopted a common Constitution and Government. With the same view, they conferred upon the Government whatever power it has of regulating and protecting what appertained to the exterior relations," &c.

"Such is clearly the character and object of the General Government, and of the authority and power conferred on it. Its power and authority having for its object the more perfect protection and promotion of the safety and rights of each and all, it is bound to protect, by their united power, the safety, the rights, the property, and the interest of the citizens of all, wherever its authority extends. That was the object for conferring whatever power and authority it has; and if it fails to fulfil that, it fails to perform the duty for which it was created. It is enough for it to know that it is the right, interest, or property, of a citizen of one of the States, to make it its duty to protect it whenever it comes within the sphere of its authority, whether in the Territories or on the high seas, or anywhere else. Its power and authority were conferred on it, not to establish or abolish property, or rights of any description, but to protect them. To establish or abolish, belongs to the States, in their separate, sovereign capacity—the capacity in which they created the General and their separate State Governments. It would be then a total and gross perversion of its power and authority to use them to establish or abolish slavery, or any other property of the citizens of the United States, in the Territories. All the power it has, in that respect, is to recognise as property there, whatever is recognised as such by the authority of any of the States, its own being but the united authority of each and all of the States, and to adopt such laws for its regulation and protection as the state of the case may require."

We have given at length this labored abstraction, and we are aware what a contemptuous opinion Mr. Calhoun will entertain of our perceptions, when we say we are not sure that we comprehend his entire meaning. We admit that the Federal Constitution was adopted by the People of the respective States, and that it is consequently binding on the People of the Union and the States. But we deny that the Federal Constitution "is only the Constitution of all the States, because it is that of each." Under this abstraction Mr. Calhoun has attempted to sustain his doctrine of nullification. If the Constitution of the Union, and the laws made under it, be nothing more than the Constitution and laws of South Carolina, as Mr. Calhoun contends, then may the people of South Carolina modify or annul the Constitution and laws of the United States. And this Mr. Calhoun insists they may do in extreme cases. But if a State may do this, it may be done at its discretion. The Constitution established a Federal Government of limited powers, but supreme in the exercise of those powers.

Why does not Mr. Calhoun consider the powers delegated to the Federal Government, rather than the objects intended to be attained by such delegation? The Constitution must be construed by its language, and not by the supposed motives of its framers.

We admit that Congress has no power to establish slavery in a Territory, and it is not necessary that we should inquire whether it may abolish it. Neither of these questions belongs to the case under discussion. No one has proposed to establish or abolish slavery in our Mexican Territories. As there is no slavery there, it is only proposed to prohibit its introduction.

Mr. Calhoun's great argument is, if we understand him, (he will pardon us,) that in our Territories the General Government is bound to protect and maintain any "rights," "property," and "interests," which a person may have acquired in the State from whence he came. In other words, that every citizen, in coming to the Territory, brings with him, if from a slave State, the right to hold slaves in the Territory, and all other laws of such State as shall be necessary to protect the "rights, property, and interests," which he acquired in it, which the General Government is bound to protect. We have thus brought into the Territory all the Constitutions and laws of the respective States, conflicting as they may be as to personal rights and rights of property, and each one is to be tried, not according to any general law, but by the law of the State whence he came. And this, Mr. Calhoun says, will create no confusion. In the Territory, a slave brought from South Carolina is a chattel; if brought from Kentucky, he is real estate. An insurance or banking company bring into the Territory their corporate powers. And so of every other corporation, sole or aggregate. Other citizens bring with them laws which protect them against all monopolies. The rights of suffrage, too, we suppose, are brought from the States, respectively, slave as well as free; and every other right which may be acquired and is protected under the law of any State. These may all co-exist, Mr. Calhoun says, "without conflict or confusion, by observing the plain, simple rule of duty and justice."

Mr. Calhoun has genius, and he prides himself on his analytical powers; but we think that his powers would fail him in administering such a congregation of inconsistent and conflicting rights. We have no desire to distort or in any manner to misrepresent his views, or the consequences to which they must lead. But we cannot be mistaken in saying that they are impracticable; and any attempt to carry them out would result in a political and judicial Pandemonium.

So far as an inquiry may involve the acquisition of property, so denominated by the common law, and which has not locality necessarily attached to it, Mr. Calhoun's principles may apply. They apply equally and to the same extent in the different States. All corporate rights are local, and cannot be exercised beyond the jurisdiction which granted them; and the rights of slavery are equally limited, as between the slave States and any other jurisdiction where slavery is not established. They rest, as the Supreme Court says, on a "municipal regulation," and, consequently, where there is no such regulation, slavery cannot exist. If, therefore, the doctrine of the Supreme Court be law, Mr. Calhoun's position is wholly without any foundation.

There is nothing in the Constitution which in the slightest degree authorizes Mr. Calhoun's position. The Territory is as much under the administration of its own laws as a State is. And no one before Mr. Calhoun ever conceived that a law of a State could be regarded as having any force in a Territory of the United States, unless by its adoption it had been made the law of the Territory. And in the first grade of Territorial Government it has been usual for the Governor and judges to adopt laws of the States, under the authority of Congress, which are adapted to the condition of the Territory. But the entire subject of legislation is in Congress, and no law of the Territorial Legislature can have any force without the sanction of Congress.

For the National Era.

LOVE'S LABOR NOT LOST.

BY MARTHA RUSSELL.

"Face and figure of a child—
Though too calm, you think, and tender,
For the childhood you would lend her.

"And a stranger, when he sees her
In the street even, smileth stilly,
Just as *you* would at a lily."

PART I.

In the door-way of one of those old, dilapidated, densely populated houses that abound in the great city of New York, sat a pale, delicate-looking child. It was a narrow, dark street, leading down to the river, lined with forlorn, mouldy-looking old houses, leaning against each other for support, and from which divers loose boards and timbers hung creaking in the wind, ever giving warning that they were about to fall. The air in this street was a strange combination of odors arising from the culinary preparations going on in the over-crowded dwellings, varied occasionally by a strong smell of tar, burned oakum, and bilge water, with which the breeze from the river was laden. In short, it was anything but the pure, fresh air of heaven, which God gave as the element of life. Yet, on the evening of which we speak, the mellow beams of the setting sun, which, like the earnest soul, are ever seeking something beautiful under the most untoward appearances, came peering round corners and through between tumbling-down old chimneys, bringing out in strong relief the grotesque mouldings on the old casements and cornices, peeping beneath the crushed-looking bonnets of toil-worn mothers returning from their labor, and bathing, as in a stream of golden water, the heads of numberless little white-haired children, as they rushed forth to meet their parents or played upon the pavement. One strong sunbeam, like an angel of Mercy, had spied the pale child in that gloomy door-way, and, creeping from roof to roof, at length fell upon the dwelling above her, then sliding down slowly and silently, like all sweet, holy influences, rested upon her head, and lit up her meek, pale face with a glow which was very beautiful to behold.

A glad light sprang to her eyes—a faint smile broke round her mouth as she felt its warmth upon her forehead; for a moment, she watched the motes dancing in its golden light; then her gaze was directed, as before, earnestly up the street. As she sat thus, the pavements began to echo to the heavier footsteps of men returning from their work, and there was a confused murmur of tongues—Irish, English, French, and German. But the loudest toned among them instinctively lowered his voice as he caught a glimpse of that child sitting in the sunlight, and not a few of those hard, care-worn faces greeted her with a kindly smile. One fat, motherly-looking Irishwoman paused beside her, and, taking a small bouquet of the commonest of garden flowers from among the mass of articles that crowded the basket on her arm, placed it in the child's hand, saying—

"May be ye would like that, me darlint."

"Oh, thank you! thank you!" exclaimed the child, raising her eyes, gushing with delighted surprise. "It is so long since I have seen a flower! You are so very kind!"

"An who wouldn't be kind to ye, *aroon*, wid the angel looking out of ye'er eyes, so like the one that once slept on my own breast, and is now wid the blessed Virgin in heaven," said the Irish mother, crossing herself, and pressing her hard hand to her bosom with a mournful gesture, as she passed on.

To most of my readers, whose lives have been set round and garlanded with those autographs of the Divinity—the blessed flowers—it will be difficult to describe the intense joy, the loving tenderness, with which that little girl gazed on those humble flowers, and pressed them to her lips and eyes; or what a chain of associations they awoke in her young mind, which reached from earth to heaven. It seemed that these were not all of joy, for the glow of delight which had lit up her face faded slowly away, and in its place came a look of patient sorrow—a sorrow that gave to her features the thoughtfulness of mature years.

As she sat, thus busy with Memory, a boy, of some eight years, came rapidly down the street, and, seeing that she did not observe him, crept stealthily along in the deep shadow of the old walls, until he stood behind her unperceived, and, clapping his little brown hands with delight as he stooped to kiss her, exclaimed—

"Caught! fairly caught asleep once, Susie!"

The little girl smiled, and, holding up her flowers, said—

"See, Willie, are they not beautiful?"

Then, in reply to his words of admiration and inquiry, she went on to tell, out of the gratitude of her heart, of the kindness of the world in general, and the fat Irishwoman in particular, as manifested toward her; then returning to the flowers, she said—

"Look here, Willie; those two and that blue one are just like the flowers that grew in our garden at Woburne. Do you remember the violets and blue periwinkle each side of the gate, and the plump lilacs at the end of the alley, and——but no, you were too small when we left to remember. Dear Woburne!" she added, sadly, as if touched by some mournful recollection.

"Not the flowers, Susie, though I love them well enough for their own sakes as well as for yours; but I do remember Dr. Murdock's big dog, Painter, and how he used to let me ride on his back. But don't be sad, Susie," he continued, noticing the shade on her face with the quick eye of affection; "when I get to be a man, which will be before a thousand years," and he fairly rose two inches in his——shoes, we were about to say, but cannot, seeing that his feet were bare, in his desire to convince her of the speedy fulfilment of his words; "we will have another cottage just like the one at Woburne, with a garden and lots of flowers; for, though I don't remember much about it, you can tell me, and you shall have a little room to yourself, with plants in it as big as trees, if you like."

She drew him down beside her, and passing her hand lovingly over his mass of brown hair, said, with a smile—

"You are the best and kindest brother in the whole world, Willie."

"And who wouldn't be kind to you, Susie," he replied, unconsciously repeating the words of the Irish mother, "I could not be otherwise if I tried. But come, let us go into the house and see mother."

"Mother has gone to carry home the clothes she has been washing," said Susie, as she turned to reach behind her for something within the door.

"Never mind, Susie," said her brother, laying his hand on her arm, "let me be your crutch to-night. I will be very steady, indeed I will."

She smiled, and as he carefully assisted her to rise, it was easy to see why she, so small and childish-looking herself, should have spoken to that well-developed boy of her older memory.

Her face, with its thoughtful look of patient sorrow, might have been taken, as it was, in truth, for the face of a girl of twelve summers, but her lower limbs were small even to deformity, and one hip much drawn from its place.

As they turned from the door, she cast another anxious glance up the street, then her eyes sought her brother's face with a look of sorrowful inquiry.

The boy understood the glance, for he replied, sadly—

"I fear he will not come to-night, Susie."

"Why not? Have you seen him?" she asked, eagerly.

"He came as far as the corner of ——— street with me; there he met some boys who persuaded him to go into a ten-pin alley," he replied, as he slowly guided his sister's steps along the gloomy old passage that led to their room.

However mean and poor the room which afforded shelter to Widow Danvers and her children, however bare of even the common necessaries of life, however harsh and discordant the sounds which reached it from the crowded rooms around, there was that in the hearts and on the faces of those children, as they emerged from that dark passage, that gave to its atmosphere a light and a glory which wealth could not buy.

Willie began to bring forth their scanty supper, meanwhile telling his sister all about the great green parrot, whose gilded cage had for several days been hung from a window opposite his employer's store, (for Willie was an errand boy,) of its climbing, and whistling, and mocking the cries of the newspaper venders, while occasionally the noise of Susie's crutches mingled with the chattering of their tongues, as she assisted him in searching for something, which they were at last forced to remember had been all eaten at the previous meal.

They had hardly finished placing and replacing the coarse dishes, with their scanty contents, upon the table, with the childish wish to make them show to the best advantage, and thus cheat themselves into a belief of a sufficiency, when their mother entered from her weary walk.

By healthy, happy children, bred in the midst of plenty and comfort, she might have been taken for a spectre, so wan and ghostlike did she look, with that strange, unearthly light in her large, dark eyes. But these children, familiar with misery, saw nothing in that face but the radiance of a mother's love, and in her shortened respiration and the quick throbbing of her heart, as she pressed their young hands to her bosom and sank upon a chair, nothing but evidences of her joy at seeing them again. True, little Susie, with her premature development, born of pain and sorrow, had once or twice of late felt a shudder pass over her, as if the shadow of the wing of the death-angel rested upon her, when she looked in her mother's face and noted her failing steps; but she had shrunk from it, and thrust it away from her, as if such a fearful thought questioned the goodness of God. Childhood is so slow to apprehend death.

While the weary mother listened to the murmuring voices of the children, another form emerged from the darkness of the passage; but whether its gloom still clung to him from affinity, or whether it was owing to the atmosphere of evil which for many months had been gathering round his heart, we cannot say; but a dark cloud rested upon his handsome, boyish features, and gave to them a bitter, disagreeable expression. And it seemed that neither the glad welcome of the children, nor the more gentle one of the mother, had power to chase it away; for he threw himself moodily upon a chair, and deigned no reply to their kind and loving words.

"I fear you are not well to-night, George," said the mother, approaching and laying her thin, bony fingers upon his wrist.

He drew his arm hastily away, saying—

"Well! I don't know what any one should wish to be well for. The sooner one dies and is out of the way the better."

"But, my dear child"——

"Ah, yes, I know all that you would say," he interrupted, with a gesture of impatience. "I know all that *cant* about God's wisdom and goodness and providence and discipline, and all that. It is a part of God's wisdom, I suppose, that allows one man to cheat another out of all he has—a part of his providential discipline that we and thousands like us must drudge, drudge night and day, and starve at that—a part of his boasted goodness," he went on bitterly, casting a glance at little Susie," that brings children into this world only to suffer—to drag through life a burden to themselves and others. Better die at once; or, better still, never to have been born!"

Little Susie, who had managed to get close to his side, and lay her thin hand upon his shoulder, drew in her breath, as if a sharp pain passed through her, and, creeping away, seated herself in the shadow of the door, for she would not that they should see the tears that gathered in her eyes.

"A burden to herself and others!" God only knows how deeply those bitter words pierced her heart. They were not new to her. Careless, thoughtless people had repeated them in whispers to each other, as they gazed on her wasted limbs—whispers which she did not fail to catch and translate into words; and lips which should have opened only to bless and pity her, had uttered them again and again in tones of querulous complaints; yet custom had not dulled their point, or taken from them aught of their bitterness. They brought a cloud before her eyes and heart so dark and thick that it cost the child many a weary struggle before she could again see and gather up the scattered sunbeams that came to brighten even her forlorn way.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

For the National Era.

HENRY B. STANTON vs. THOMAS CARLYLE.

Every author, no matter what his genius or distinction, is, certainly, a fair subject of criticism; and he who objects to it is but a blind admirer and mistaken friend. But I know no merely *human being* so perfect, who, if you expose his faults only to public gaze, can stand the test of such an ordeal. He is but an injudicious friend of Carlyle, or any other author, who objects to a fair exposition of excellences and defects; and the writer, for one, is willing and desirous to have him subjected to such a trial, fearless of the result. What author is there who could escape literary damnation, if we confine ourselves solely to his defects? This would be *cavilling*, not *criticising*. Carlyle's style is certainly peculiar; but, like many other authors of a high order, he is to be considered as addressing the *thinkers*, not the masses directly. If, by the raciness of his style, he has been able to arrest the attention of the higher classes, surely this may excuse any idiosyncracies. Johnson's pompous periods, and Sterne's somewhat affected ones, have often been objected to, if not ridiculed; but who, for this, would wish that they had written otherwise than as they have done? I have even heard Macaulay objected to for want of simplicity, and for being too conservative. There are some minds so matter of fact, that they would have everything in the brevity and nakedness of a mathematical demonstration, discarding all the charms of style. Though his style may, at first, be repulsive, yet its vigor and piquancy, by the power they have of arresting attention, amply atone for any deviation from the accustomed rules of composition. Say what we may of the *garb* in which he has clothed his thoughts, the *thoughts themselves* must be acknowledged to be deep, earnest, and soul stirring. But, to the great objection that he points out the evil, but shows no remedy, the writer would answer, that to know a disease and its locality, and to have them clearly and unmistakeably pointed out, is a great point gained. It is the province of the philosopher in his closet, by study and meditation, to prove there are laws of gravity, elasticity, &c., *even* if he should lack the skill or taste to apply them. *Can* he apply them, so much the more honor to *him;* but if he cannot, instead of *complaining*, we should thank him heartily for what he has already done. Inspire the *spirit* of reform, and the reform *itself* will surely follow. George Combe, when in this country, remarked that the great obstacle to reform in England was not want of freedom and liberty of speech, but the blind reverence of the people for the higher classes. Who will deny that the tendency of Carlyle's writings is to destroy a reverence for mere nobility of rank and position, independent of high intrinsic worth? The writer, for *one*, does not *wish* the reverence for genius and excellence *ever* to be destroyed. Our moral era is one of the tumbling down of old formulas of faith; the *new* (suited to the advance of intellect and spiritual growth) have not yet been formed. In such a state, there is great danger of falling into the gulf of utter unbelief—of a want of faith in anything but a blind destiny, and a creation, of which its creator is careless. From this hideous abyss of infidelity, Carlyle has stepped forth to save us, and reassure our faith "to stand by, and see the salvation of God." From the deplorable condition referred to he was (under God) the first to snatch the writer. And for it, to him be ever grateful thanks from at least *one* brother-man. Carlyle is yet a man in the full vigor of life, and, having pointed out the evils under which society is laboring, he *may* turn his attention to studying the remedies; but, should he *not* feel himself called to that task, still be everlasting thanks to him for having drawn us from shams to realities; for having reassured our faith; for his "everlasting yea;" for his faith in man, and recognition of his brotherhood *everywhere;* for having made us feel that self-denial and suffering for truth are not mere vain oblations of the superstitious and weak; and that earnestness and enthusiasm are not always fanaticism. And thanks *too* for a feeling of self-devotion, and willingness to be purified through suffering, (the religion of sorrow,) with which he inspires us. His and our great Master confined himself to awakening the minds of the people to their sad condition, and to enjoining on them repentance and renewal of life, in general terms, without specifying *modes* more particularly, than by doing justly and loving mercy. We have already transgressed the limits of a newspaper article, but, as fair criticism and not fulsome laudation is our purpose, we must first turn to the ungracious task of pointing out faults. There is, then, in Carlyle, (as in every earnest mind of the race of Adam,) a tendency to exaggeration—a disposition to make his heroes faultless, and to out-heroize them. There is sometimes an obscurity in his meaning, and he is not always wholly original—as what writer ever was? The greatest genius but *advances*, more or less, on the opinions held before his time. The whole system of man's duties is contained in the Christian code, and the reformer has nothing to do but to reaffirm them, clothe them in thoughts suitable to his age, or to present them in a striking manner. In England, reform must come from the upper classes; and he has succeeded in arresting their attention more effectually, perhaps, by his peculiar diction, than he could have done without it.

T. B.

For the National Era.

TO THE RAINBOW.

BY MRS. M. W. CONNOLLY.

Oft as I gaze upon thee, wondrous arch,
My soul expands with joy untold, unknown
To him who dares to question of that power
Which laid upon the sky's serenest blue
Thy glowing tints, when o'er the des'late earth
At first they shone. A cov'nant seal thou art
Of better things, and sweet remembrancer
Of many mercies past; an image too,
Though faint, of God's unbounded love to man,
When the Redeemer left his heavenly throne
To purchase freedom for a sinful world.
As blissful hope succeeds tormenting fear,
So do thy beauties to the storm succeed,
And joy unmixed my raptured bosom fills;
And as I muse, and thought is born of thought,
I note how all thy colors—each distinct
And bright—harmoniously combine to form
A scene so perfect, that one color lost
Would mar its beauty and its majesty—
And see in thee to mortal eyes displayed,
A visible memento, given to man,
Of Him who framed and set thee in the cloud.
Fair how, thy tints are lovely; may they not
Some dim, mysterious resemblance bear
To our dread Lord and Father merciful?
A single ray of light contains the wealth
Of all thy wondrous beauty: so in one
Are all His infinite perfections joined;
For "God is Love"—and though his truth more sure
Than yonder mountain stands, though his deep mind
Each secret thing doth scan, though purity
Like his cannot endure th' approach of sin,
Though His dread presence and his power are known
Throughout creation's bounds, though his stern law
His sterner justice ever will uphold,
Yet "God is Love!" Declare it, oh ye heavens,
And hear, oh earth, and let your praise ascend
To that great God who loves his creatures still
With all a father's pitying tenderness!
His mercies fail not, and while earth shall last,
Where'er the sun doth shed his gladd'ning beams,
Where'er the rain doth fall in gentle showers,
Thou, bow of heaven, shalt be to us a pledge
Of this most blessed truth.
Amid the roar
Of dread Niagara, whose raging waves
And angry voice thrill every heart with fear,
Thou, smiling, bendest from thy misty throne,
And whisp'rest to the spirit, "Peace, be still!"
To the tired denizen of cities, thou
Art like an angel, come to lure him back
To rural scenes where once he roved content,
Nor wished for happier days—and when o'er fields,
With rain drops spangled, and bedecked with flowers
Whose little cups with blessings overflow,
Thou art unfurled from the Creator's hand
In mild and sudden glory, then our eyes
Are filled with grateful tears, and this our hearts'
Glad song—"His banner over us is Love!"
Thou art the radiant banner of the skies,
Whose folds embrace our vision's utmost ken,
As our Creator's love doth all mankind.
Fain would I sing, in numbers sweet, thy praise,
And His who made thee, till the notes should wake
A thrill responsive in each human breast:
But nobler strains have sounded in thy praise
Than e'er have swept my lyre; be 't mine to bow,
In silent love and adoration deep,
Before the great Creator, and to learn
His grace to trust who doeth all things well,
That when the storm shall come that drives my bark
From life's dull shores, my heavenward eye shall meet
A "Bow of Promise," where my faith may rest,
Secure that Jordan's wave shall never whelm
The faithful soul that stays itself on Him
Who crossed the billows dark that we might live,
To sing in heaven the wonders of his love.

Loudoun County, Va., September, 1849.

For the National Era.

GEORGE W. JULIAN,

M. C. Elect from the Fourth District, Indiana.

There are circumstances connected with the return of the above-named individual to Congress, which elevate it very considerably above the majority of similar contests. It is interesting, in the first place, as a triumph of Right. In it the voice of that excellent, old-established anti-slavery community (*authentically* uttered for the first time) was given with decided emphasis for Truth and Humanity. It was heard, too, in withering rebuke of its recreant recent representative, (C. B. Smith,) of his would-be successor, and of all that school of moralists and politicians, great and small.

This result is interesting, further, with reference to matters personal to the member elect. It is a triumph, in his person, of independent honesty, and native, unbought talent, over an unparalleled array of meanness and malevolence. I have known him from his youth up, and can speak as to his character. George W Julian is a *self-made man*, an heir of honest poverty, a graduate of common schools, (of which he was subsequently a successful teacher,) and remarkable from earliest youth for diligence and indomitable perseverance in the path of self-improvement. A Whig by family associations, he became, on entering his present profession, an active and efficient advocate of Whig principles, (for Whiggery once *had* principles,) believing them to be *right*. In 1845, he was elected to the State Legislature, and made no scruple to act independently of his party in support of certain measures of State policy calculated to redeem the tarnished honor of the State. Though of Southern ancestry and associations, he had imbibed the anti-slavery spirit of New England philosophy, and become an earnest convert to the faith of Freedom. When, therefore, the nomination of General Taylor was urged upon the reluctant community, he rejected it—stood neutral for a while—was finally induced to attend the Convention at Buffalo—came home overflowing with a noble enthusiasm in the good cause—was appointed Van Buren Elector for his district, and went to work heart and strength in the unequal contest—endured the disruption of family and social ties—received and despised the hisses and execrations, the abuse and blackguardism of Whiggery in that its stronghold—but made it writhe, meantime, under the arrows of Truth, and its ablest advocates to cower before him. Friends and foes were alike astonished at the rapidly-unfolding powers of a soul redeemed from political darkness; and the latter not a little chagrined to find they had roused a lion where they thought to crush a worm.

Now, the people are not fools, let demagogues think what they please. They marked these indications of political honesty and ability in this young man, and hence it was that not all the powers and influences of the dominant party in the district, backed by the Administration at Washington through one of its choice spirits, (Truman Smith,) could persuade or prevent them from commissioning him to represent them in the National Legislature. There was great fitness in this, and honest men augur nothing but good from it. That Constituency and that Representative are mutually adapted to each other; and those who know them best are confident that their present relation will redound to their mutual credit and advantage. One thing is certain—G. W. Julian is not the man to be browbeat, thrust aside, or run over, when standing in defence of the Right. His reasoning faculties are of a superior order; his command of language great. He has wit to enliven debate, and sarcasm to lash an opponent. In short, he possesses great intellectual power, courage to use it, and moral *stamina* to direct and ennoble it. Altogether, physically and mentally, in Congress or out of it, I predict he will be found amply able to "hoe his own row."

HOOSIER.

Fifteen families from the neighborhood of Wilmington, Delaware, have emigrated to Chicago, Illinois, within a few months.

For the National Era.

TO DEMOCRATS OF THE NORTH.

It cannot be secreted that, upon the question of slavery, the Democratic party of the nation is somewhat distracted.

It has proved our defeat in one Presidential election, and, under the same management, will prove another. One portion of the South say they are personally opposed to the institution of slavery, that the Wilmot Proviso is constitutional, but unnecessary. Another portion of the South claim the right of being protected in the enjoyment of slave property in the Territories by the Federal Government, declare the Wilmot Proviso is both unconstitutional and an infringement of the rights of the slaveholder, and talk largely of the consequences to follow, provided it becomes a law. One portion of the North say they hold to the spirit and reason of the Proviso, but it is unconstitutional. Another portion say we hold to both the spirit and reason, and also to the constitutionality of the Proviso, and are determined to be bound to the slave interest no longer.

Democrats of the North, in such a crisis, what becomes us? Shall we subscribe to the declaration of John Van Buren, and say the National Democracy is disbanded? God forbid. For forty years have the Democracy of the North and South stood shoulder to shoulder in one common cause. Together they have wrestled with moneyed and aristocratic power. And now, in the very hour of achieving victory, shall we disband? We have just succeeded in removing the "high," oppressive "tariff," that sat like an incubus upon American industry; we have rescued the National funds from the hands of sharkers, and placed it in the people's own treasury—the treasury of the Constitution; the old mother of harlots, that corrupted the world with her lewdness, and drank the wealth of freemen, we have destroyed; and more than ones have we met and defeated attempted aggressions upon the sovereignty of State rights. All this has only been obtained by a union of strength. And shall we now disband? Shall we surrender up all we have gained to our half-vanquished enemies? Thus consign the work of forty years to oblivion? Rather the sun should be darkened, and earth and sea return to chaos.

But what then? Shall we follow the advice of the Democratic Union, and still hold on upon non-intervention and reconstruction of the Cass platform? It is madness. It is suicide. I ask, is not that question decided. Numerous have been the interpositions of the Federal Government, from time to time, for and against slavery in the Territories, while many of us have stood aloof and said, this is not a National question. We said it is opposed to the spirit and reason of the Constitution to make the Federal Government, in any way, an instrument in this behalf. We said such interposition tended to raise sectional jealousies, and was productive of no good. We said, before we vote either for or against slavery in the Territories, we will have a decision whether it be a National question. A decision we have had, and it is against us—a decision from which there is no appeal; a decision from the people. And, in all candor, I ask, is there any chance to hope that that decision will be revoked? With non-intervention at our mast-head, we have made our best rally. Does not every indication show it? Who does not know that thousands upon thousands of those who voted with us at the last Presidential election, both North and South, would have chosen to see our non-intervention principle stricken out? If there were odds, they were in our favor; and yet we were beaten. And the final decision has gone forth, that slavery in the Territories is a National question; and by the National Councils it must be decided.

And now have we no interest in the decision of this question? No sympathies? No preference? No choice? No opinions to declare? If so, there will be a partial justification for our silence; but, otherwise, our country has a claim upon those opinions, and we are called upon by the authority of the Constitution to declare them. And shall we do it? Or shall we remain in sullen silence, and with arms folded, during the settlement of one of the most momentous questions that ever agitated a nation's councils? Momentous, indeed, in its present aspect. Hitherto we have said, let it alone; the Territories will rid themselves of slavery. And so we now believe. But the question is now put to us, slavery or no slavery. And here comes the momentous responsibility.

Extension, non-intervention, and prohibition; to one of these three must our efforts be directed. Non-intervention is voted out of doors, and the contest now is between extension and prohibition. Mr. Benton tells us that the extension of slavery is not asked for by any. Now, Mr. Benton has told us much truth, but in this he has stated the case as it would be desirous that it should be, and not according to the facts. Who can so soon forget the declarations, so recently put forth by nearly the whole Southern representation in Congress, Whigs and Democrats, that the newly acquired Territories were the conquest of the whole people, were obtained at the common cost of the whole people, were the common property of the whole people, and that the slaveholder had as good a right to be protected in the enjoyment of his slave property in those Territories, as had the Northern man in his cattle. I need not say that the right to protection in slave property in the Territories, and a demand of such protection, was urged upon Congress, during the two last sessions, by nearly every Southern member of both Houses. Nor need I refer to the very numerous and labored arguments put forth in support of such right and demand. It forms too conspicuous a feature in our political history, to have been unobserved by any. And yet it is said that the establishment of slavery, by act of Congress, in Territory now free, will not be asked for by any. Protection in the enjoyment of slave property in those Territories, where now there is no such protection, is certainly asked for. And what other establishment or extension could they desire? What other could they have? What other could be granted? Or, what other ever was granted to any Territory, by any Legislature? Again: why were no Territorial bills passed, last winter, establishing Governments for California and New Mexico? Did any one deny or doubt the necessity? Verily, not. Why, then, was it not done? Extension, non-intervention, and prohibition—each of these had its votaries, and neither of them could obtain a majority of the whole. This was the reason, and the only reason. Sirs, let us not shut our eyes to the truth, though it be painful, but let us know the worst, and prepare for it. There are those who ask the extension of slavery, by act of Congress, over the Territories now free. And let it be remembered, for this is a very material consideration. Indeed, it would be a matter of wonder if none such there were, and still greater is the wonder that any should deny the fact, since it most plainly exists. And when will they cease to ask? Never, so long as they are allowed the least hope of success. And hope will never become extinct, so long as they see the other portions of the Union divided upon non-intervention and on prohibition.

But the matter presents itself in another aspect. Hitherto, it has been the policy of the National Democratic party to avoid all questions involving matters of slavery. Democrats, North and South, I tell you that policy no longer exists, but the reverse has become our true interest. His Excellency General Zachary Taylor owes his elevation to the Presidency to his own non-committal policy; and, in 1852, he will again come into power, upon the same policy, unless forced to abandon it. Bring him into an expression upon all the great National questions, and his omnipotence is forever gone. This done, and we have nothing to fear. There is not another man, North or South, who, being the avowed advocate of Whig doctrines and measures, could hope of success as a candidate for the Presidency, in opposition to the Democratic nominee. That is, Whig principles can no longer hope for success in fair and even-handed contest with those of the Democratic party. This the Whigs themselves have but too plainly discovered, and have sought their success by under-handed means. It becomes us, therefore, to conform the defence to the mode of attack. They have seen that to elect a Whig President is no longer possible, and have tried a new mode, viz: to manufacture one. And, thus far, has this novel undertaking succeeded admirably, and to their great delight. General Taylor was nowhere preferred, but the Philadelphia Convention thought it better to take him, and risk the consequences, than to do what they knew would only result in inevitable defeat. Let us, then, test his Excellency. As we regard the safety of those measures for which we have long contended, viz: the revenue tariff, the constitutional treasury, the proper restraint of the Federal power over the States, bills should be passed, during the present term of General Taylor's Administration, affecting slavery, both in the Territories and in the District of Columbia. And, so far as affects the success of the aforementioned cardinal measures of the Democratic party, it matters little whether those bills be for or against slavery. In either case, two things would be gained; first, General Taylor would be as completely shorn of that superior strength, which he possesses over all other men, as was Samson, when deprived of his hair. Secondly, this vexed question would no longer embarrass our politics, and, in 1852, we might once more have the satisfaction of a fair and even-handed contest with our opponents.

And is there anything, in all this, unfair or fraudulent? Is it not right that a man should be called to the responsibility of deciding questions to which he owes his elevation? General Taylor himself could not complain of such treatment. And, irrespective of the safety of those measures to which we, as a party, cling, there are other sufficient reasons for bringing General Taylor to an expression upon all these measures, upon which he has heretofore kept the whole nation in a state of suspense. It is the first principle of Democracy, and the foundation stone of all Republican Government, that the people shall direct the policy of the country, that the people shall pass judgment upon what is right and what is wrong; not that they should elect a man to them unknown, and then wait, in breathless awe, to see what he shall do, how he shall please to dispose of them and theirs. Suppose General Taylor is, as he says he is, an honest man. The manner of his elevation is an insult to freemen, and forms a dangerous precedent in our political history. General Taylor never gave but one pledge in all his life, and that he has broken; never expressed but one opinion, and that he lost before he got into the Presidential chair. Every true Democrat, to whatever party he belongs, must join in giving rebuke to such proceedings.

Were I now to travel through every Northern State, visit every dwelling, and to every man put the question as to his sentiments concerning the traffic in human flesh in the District of Columbia, I should meet with but one answer: I abhor, I loathe the practice. What, then, prevents our wiping out the stain from our nation's character? We have the power. And if it be said that it would distract our party, I answer, it is the best, the only means of avoiding distraction. The distraction would fall mainly on our opponents. Everything is to be gained, and nothing lost. Now is the favored hour. Shall we embrace it? Or, shall we be browbeaten by the cry of dissolution? Have we not suffered the imputation of doughfaces long enough? And for what? Simply because, having the power to do, we have been frightened from doing what we have declared was right. And with no great impropriety have we borne the cognomen. Have we not been called the pro-slavery party long enough? And for what? Simply because, having matters of more immediate importance to accomplish, we have seen fit not to distract our party by introducing matter altogether collateral. But the moment has at length arrived, when we may wipe out the reproach without harm to ourselves. And let us do it. And to us shall be the glory. It will unite our party, and weaken our Federal opponents. General Cass says, that those who hold the Wilmot Proviso unconstitutional can never vote for it. It is with deference that I approach the opinions of one, for whose wisdom in National council I have the highest esteem. But I am constrained to think that this novel position of the illustrious statesman was assumed solely to maintain his consistency before the people. Strange doctrine this, that our hands are to be tied up by constitutional scruples, while our Southern brethren are busy working at what they call extending their rights. Upon this theory, a fair decision of a question of this kind could never be had. And the only way to bring the matter properly to an issue is, first to take a decision whether slavery in the Territories is matter of [illegible] And then, in all subsequent proceedings, act with reference to that decision, whether in our private opinion it be right or wrong. This decision has been several times taken, and it has invariably been in [illegible] Nor is this sentiment by any means losing ground. It therefore only remains for those who wish the Territories to be free, to vote for the express prohibition of slavery. And for those who desire to see slavery extended over those Territories, it only remains to vote for extension.

I have only to add that I am a Democrat. I supported General Cass and non-intervention, both by my vote and my pen, as I am ready to verify. It has not been my object herein to support, by argument, the cardinal principles of the Democratic party, but simply to counsel as to the best policy to be adopted, to secure the success of those principles. And should my counsel be rejected, my adherence to the party will be no less firm than ever. If General Cass be nominated in 1852, I shall vote for him; if Col. Benton, I shall vote for him; if any other man of known attachment to our principles, I shall vote for him; but for one unknown, never.

Meadville, Pa., August 21, 1849.

From the Louisville Daily Chronicle.

THE CLAY AND TURNER TRAGEDY—THE OTHER SIDE.

I have just been shown a letter of C. M. Clay, to the editor of the *National Era*, and republished in the Louisville *Morning Courier*, dated 4th August, 1849.

The letter is in relation to the fatal "Foxtown Affray," in which my son, Cyrus Turner, was killed by Clay. I must ask of your kindness permission to reply to that letter through your columns, and I hope the *National Era*, the *Courier*, and other papers which have published Clay's letter, will do me the justice to insert my reply.

It is unnecessary for me to say to you, or to any one who is a father, that it is with pain and anguish I am constrained to speak and write concerning this sad affair, not that I am conscious of one act or word of mine connected with that transaction, which in the eye of good morals was wrong. The man does not live that can bring home to me one censurable act connected with that horrible tragedy, or any previous knowledge or intimation that such a thing was in contemplation. Had any such *evidence* existed against me or any of my family or friends, there can be no doubt it would have been sought out and used against me in my canvass for a seat in the Convention to remodel the Constitution, then progressing, and ending seven weeks afterwards.

Had I been forward to publish much on the subject of the Foxtown affray, I should have been charged with a desire to prejudice Mr. Clay, in the event of a judicial investigation of the matter.

Mr. Clay seems not content to rest upon his own first published, incorrect, and highly-colored statement of his case, but conscious that a just public opinion was clearly against him, and that he stood guilty of a horrible crime in the eyes of mankind, comes forward at the end of a month, in a second letter, to mend his hold.

Not satisfied with the misery he has inflicted on the father, mother, brother, sisters, and the orphan child and friends of Cyrus Turner, he comes forward with a new version of his case, and assails my character and the character of my deceased son and of others.

In his last letter, sensible that his reckless, bloodthirsty character was well known, and that there was a settled public opinion against him in Kentucky and the Western county, he appeals to a particular portion of the Northern people for countenance and sympathy.

I will first quote and notice what Clay has said about me, thus—"My friends here have thought that it did not become me to reply to either. [Speaking of Major Runyon and myself.] Turner is known in Kentucky to be capable of any crime."

It is quite unpleasant for a man of proper sensibility to be compelled to speak of himself. I think I am not mistaken, however, in believing that this is an occasion in which public opinion and good taste will tolerate me in doing so.

I am now in my fifty-seventh year, and a native of Madison county, Kentucky, in which I still reside. It is one of the largest and most populous counties in the State, and its citizens among the most intelligent. I have been elected by the citizens of the county to and have served seven sessions in the State Legislature. I have recently been elected the highest on the list to the State Convention to remodel the Constitution, and that in opposition to a thousand copies of Clay's first publication printed and circulated in the county to injure me. My misfortune in the assassination of my son, and the death of two of my family of cholera on the first day of the election, and the heavy affliction of others, prevented me from canvassing as usual, or making much exertion during the election.

I was selected, with our distinguished citizen, Gov. Metcalfe, as a Senatorial delegate to represent Kentucky in the Baltimore National Whig Convention, held in 1844. This selection was made by a large and enlightened State Convention, held at Louisville.

I was tendered a Circuit Judgeship by the late Gov. Clarke, and declined accepting it; this tender was made known to me through Messrs. Samuel Hanson and Col. J. S. Smith; the latter is the brother-in-law of C. M. Clay. So far as respects Kentuckians, these matters might well have been omitted.

In a note to Mr. Clay's last letter, the charge of a conspiracy on the part of my sons and myself and others is again brought forward. This charge is utterly destitute of truth, or even plausibility.

He still concedes that Cyrus Turner was unarmed, and neither Clay nor any other person has intimated that I was armed, or that I ever carried on my person a pistol, bowie-knife, or dirk, in my life, or was ever concerned in a fight with pistols, dirks, or bowie-knives.

In Clay's first letter he says: "Truth requires me to say, that Cyrus Turner's life and character had inspired me with the same respect which is felt by the citizens of Madison county generally."

In the same letter, speaking of the debate the day preceding the "Foxtown tragedy," Clay says, "It was concluded courteously on all sides;" so was every preceding debate.

With these admissions, over his own signature, staring him in the face, he comes forward in his second letter with small scraps, in the main unimportant, raked up from the kennel in part, and mostly fabricated, to prove that Cyrus Turner and I, with others, had conspired to assassinate him, unarmed, and without motive. "All having been concluded courteously the previous evening," nothing new or offensive having transpired on that day before I made my speech at Foxtown, (and the fatal affray took place before I left the stand.) Clay labors to make the impression that Cyrus Turner and I did not wish him to speak in reply to me in my canvass. Nothing is further from the truth. I had no doubt that Clay's opposition, as manifested in his speeches, was of great service to me, and an injury to the cause of Emancipation in the county and State, and I on several occasions, prior to the "Foxtown tragedy," told persons in conversation that such was my opinion; indeed, it is well known that he is an injury to any cause he espouses in Kentucky.

The note to Clay's second letter contains this sentence—speaking of the day at Foxtown and of me, he says: "On the same day, he went to Richard Jeffries, a man of great personal strength, and offered him $100 to stand by him, which Jeffries indignantly refused."

This statement is without the color of truth, and has been so denounced by Mr. Jeffries to numbers of persons of the first standing in Clay's neighborhood, where Jeffries lives, and as he says to Clay himself. I saw Jeffries at Foxtown in the early part of the fatal 15th of June, and conversed with him, but not a word was said about Clay, or any difficulty with him or any one else, nor about $100.

It is true that my son, Thomas Turner, had a pistol at Foxtown, but he never attempted to use it, except to save the life of an unarmed brother. I did not know that he had a pistol until after the affray was nearly over, and I am confident that he was in no conspiracy against Clay.

Neither Clay nor C. F. Burnam, the son of the candidate, ever intimated to me a desire to speak, on the day of the muster at Foxtown, until Clay stopped me, and said that he did not wish to speak, but Burnam did; and alleged I had been speaking a much longer time than I had; whereupon my son Thomas, who was in the crowd, pulled out his watch and showed it, and said that Mr. Clay was mistaken as to the length of time I had been speaking. "It was for this provocation of Thomas Turner," as Clay states in his [illegible] letter, "I went into the room [illegible] seven inches [illegible] bag was lodged [illegible] an inch and an eighth in breadth, *which I usually carry for self-defence.* * * * * I do not deny that I have other and more efficient weapons of defence than the knife."

Here there is an admission by Clay that, although all had ended courteously the evening before, he had, in coming to a muster, within half a mile of his own house, brought not only the bowie-knife that *he usually carried with him*, "*but more efficient weapons*," a carpet-bag of pistols—a travelling arsenal!

Did anybody molest him when he came back, until he, by conduct toward me in various ways and several times repeated, provoked it? Many of our citizens, and some who are not my personal friends, say they were astonished that my sons suffered Clay to persist so long in his rudeness to me on that day, without resenting it. I am old enough to be Clay's father.

It is manifest that Clay, when he went and fixed on his bowie-knife, and fastened a loose cloak over his shoulders to hide his weapon, intended to provoke a quarrel, and to that end secretly collected some of his desperate friends around him, with sticks and clubs. I am told that he avowed, as he was taken into the house after the affray, that it had been his intention to kill me and both of my sons.

There is ample evidence that Cyrus Turner was knocked down with a stick or club, and that the effect of the blow was visible on his person, after he died. Clay stabbed him after he was thus knocked down, and while lying on his back, incapable of harming any one. This no one has or can deny.

In Clay's last letter he says: "I am lashed for an hour and a half in a speech of most virulent character, with the most false and dishonorable imputations. I am refused to be told whether or not I shall have an opportunity to reply."

How disingenuous! Mr. Clay never expressed a desire to speak; on the contrary, he says, in his first letter, that he had determined not to speak on that day. Not an allusion was made to him in my speech, except in reply to his interruptions, and to them the replies were courteous.

I aver that in the speech I made at Foxtown, I said not a word that was personal to Mr. Clay, or to any other Emancipationist; on the contrary, I was particular to say I did not believe that there was an Emancipationist in Madison county who concurred in the acts of those who were writing circulars to the Northern Abolitionists, urging them to contribute money to aid the cause of Emancipation in Kentucky; and that I did not believe they concurred in the sentiments contained in Garrison's resolutions. I stated further, that I believed Mr. Burnam, the Emancipation candidate, was as honorable a man as lived.

Mr. Clay complains of the reply I made to him when he stated that he had been mistaken in the length of my speech. It is true that I did say to him, in a jesting manner, that, from his impatience, I supposed he thought I had spoken four hours. Mr. Clay was no candidate, and it was not his place to interrupt me. If Mr. Burnam wanted to speak, why could he not have named it before the speaking commenced? Why was nothing said to other candidates on the subject? What great provocation was there in this reply of mine to Clay?

I had been interrupted and mistreated in various ways by him, during my speech of an hour and a half, and after the close of the speech; and in two publications this reply is all that is specified, which Clay thought personally exceptionable.

It is a fact that Mr. Clay never was interrupted or mistreated in any speech he made in Madison in favor of Emancipation, nor was he or any other Emancipationist mistreated while he was speaking in any part of the State, so far as I ever heard.

But Mr. Clay seems to think it necessary to reconcile the Northern Abolitionists to his use of arms and the shedding of blood. In his last letter he discourses thus:

"Now, as to the propriety of carrying weapons. If I had not carried weapons, I would long since have been beyond the reach of praise or blame. * * * How then can you ask me to go unarmed, and yet manfully vindicate those doctrines which everywhere here have been denounced with death. What good would it do to the cause I advocate, to add myself to the long list of *tame* victims who have been murdered in the South for exercising the liberty of speech?

"It is true that so soon as I looked the silly practice of duelling in the face, I trampled it under foot; but, sir, do you see no difference between self-defence and the barbarous, criminal, and puerile code of honor?

"There is not one of these men who has the remotest idea of becoming a martyr to slavery. To such men, a bowie-knife in the hands of a determined man, in a good cause, is more terrible than the boasted majesty of the law. Trust to the magnanimity of the people! Well, I did. Did they who claim to be the people, show any? No, sir. * * * When the regular pro-slavery party begin to be magnanimous to me, I shall then suspect myself of beginning to desert those principles to which I have so often solemnly pledged myself."

What a base slander on his native State, the birthplace and the home of himself, his children, and relations! Who ever lost his life, or had it endangered, in Kentucky, for avowing himself in favor of Emancipation? Is it not known that several of the highest judicial stations in the

State are held by Emancipationists, as well as a number of other offices?

What can be expected of a native son of Kentucky, who, to ingratiate himself with the Abolitionists of the North, will assert that the bowie-knife is to be preferred in Kentucky to the majesty of the law! and assert, that, to avow an an opinion in favor of Emancipation "everywhere is denounced with death!' and who stigmatizes the people of Kentucky as not being trustworthy, and that they are wanting in magnanimity!—a people proverbial for these high traits of character. Are such a man's statements entitled to any confidence in other respects?

Mr. Clay says he has trampled the silly practice of duelling under foot. This is not, however, from any distaste to the shedding of blood, because in the next sentence he argues in favor of the bowie-knife.

In duelling, both parties are placed on an equal footing. The bowie-knife can be concealed, and suddenly used to assassinate an unarmed man, whom you have excited by repeated insults; and this is to be preferred to the boasted majesty of the laws of Kentucky, where the people have no magnanimity, and who, Mr. Clay says, he has tried, and they are not to be trusted.

The friends of Cyrus Turner have said they believed that Clay was out in the affray with his own knife, and he has repeatedly said the same thing; such I believe to be the fact.

SQUIRE TURNER.

Richmond, Ky., Sept. 8, 1849.

THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, OCTOBER 4, 1849.

☞ We call the attention of our friends to the following Prospectus of a new paper to be issued by Mrs. Bailey. Without further notice, she hopes all who are interested in such a paper, will do what they can in the way of forwarding subscriptions.

PROSPECTUS OF THE FRIEND OF YOUTH,

A MONTHLY NEWSPAPER.

MRS. MARGARET L. BAILEY, EDITOR.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

The Friend of Youth will be issued on the first of every month, in quarto form, 8 pages, on fine paper, in neat, new type, and with tasteful embellishments.

Our object will be to make the paper an attractive companion for Youth. While we please, we shall also aim to form their tastes. In addition to agreeable Stories, Lessons on Natural History, Descriptions of Natural Scenery, Sketches of Travel, and Notices of New Books for children, we shall converse with them, in language adapted to their comprehension, about the important events of the present era. We know this is not usually done in such publications, but we think we do not mistake the taste or capacity of young people, when we suppose them to feel some interest in the world they live in, beyond the nursery, the school-room, and the play ground. It shall also be our care to interest them on all great subjects connected with the well-being of mankind. Freedom, Peace, and Temperance, shall receive our earnest advocacy. Teaching our readers to sympathize with the oppressed, and weep with the suffering, we hope to awaken in them a generous abhorrence of all wrong, and an earnest love and reverence for all that is just and pure; and, while thus inculcating the lessons of love to man, we cannot forget the supreme obligations due to the great Father and Benefactor of all.

We hope to succeed in adapting our paper to all ages of youth; so that while the elder brothers and sisters have a full share of our attention, the little ones shall not be forgotten. They are our special favorites, and shall be cared for accordingly.

To secure variety of entertainment, we have engaged, as regular contributors to our columns, several well-known and distinguished writers, peculiarly qualified to minister to the wants of Youth. Among them, we are at liberty to name—T. S. Arthur and Emma D. E. N. Southworth. In short, we hope to make the paper just such a "Friend" as young people will be glad to see, and sorry to part with.

and this Prospectus may reach many of the former friends which we established [illegible] "Youth's Monthly Visitor," a paper Cincinnati, we cannot forbear expressing the great pleasure it will give us to renew our former intercourse with them. The little children who then received the "Visitor" as a welcome guest, are now almost grown up men and women. But they will perhaps find some little brother or sister or cousin to whom they may introduce us as an old friend.

The first number will be issued on the first of November

The terms will be—*fifty cents* a year for a single copy; five copies for two dollars.

It is desirable that the names of subscribers be sent in with as little delay as possible.

All communications must be addressed to Mrs. Margaret L. Bailey, Washington, D. C.

☞ Editors, friendly to the undertaking, will please call attention to the Prospectus.

☞ By request, we publish the reply of Mr. Turner to the letter of Cassius M. Clay.

A LETTER FROM GRACE GREENWOOD will be published next week.

LINES TO CHARLES SUMNER will appear in our next.

LOVE'S LABOR NOT LOST.—We are sorry that we could not publish at once the whole of this beautiful story, the first chapter of which appears on the first page of the *Era* to-day.

"EDUCATION."—On the fourth page of the *Era* is the first of a series of articles on Education, by an accomplished lady of New York city, a new contributor.

"TO THE DEMOCRATS OF THE NORTH."—Under this head, on our first page, a Cass Democrat of Meadville, Pa., addresses some pregnant observations to the Democratic Party. It is remarkable as a sign of the times.

THE RAINBOW.—Mrs. Connolly, the author of a poem on the outside of our paper, is welcome to our columns. We hope to hear from her again.

"MODERN REFORMS AND REFORMERS."—This work, we learn, is to be published, not by the Harpers, but by John Wiley, No. 161 Broadway, New York.

HAYTI, AN EMPIRE.—Soulouque, President of Hayti, has caused himself to be invested with the Imperial dignity. On the 20th August, the legislative council of the island declared him Emperor. The Haytians don't like to be beaten by the Reactionists of Europe. The empire will hardly stand very long.

Some time since, we met with a circular of T. C. Connolly, late editor of the Leesburg Chronicle, in which he proposed to publish, at some eligible point in the State of Virginia, a paper to be devoted to the interests and improvement of that State.

We have recently learned that he has postponed the enterprise, to await a more propitious season.

He has always acted with the Whig party, and, although our political opinions differed from his, we award to him the merit of having conducted his late paper with courtesy and ability.

DR. HOUSTON.

Our readers will be pained, as we were deeply, to hear of the decease of Dr. JAMES A. HOUSTON, who died of hemorrhage of the lungs, on the 17th instant, at New York. He was well known throughout the United States as an accomplished reporter, and his contributions to the press indicated a mind of rich endowments, capable of signal achievements in literature, had his time been less occupied with his duties as a professional reporter. His series of sketches for this paper, entitled "Portraits for the People," were very extensively read, and much admired.

The following, from the Philadelphia Daily News, does him no more than justice:

"He was a man of great talent, and, as a reporter, stood at the head of his profession in this country. He was a native of Antrim, Ireland, a son of the Rev. Dr. Houston, a highly esteemed clergyman, and had been but a few years in this country. Ever noble, generous, and impulsive, he won a host of friends, and impressed upon all his labors the works of his genius and talent. It was his purpose, in coming to America, to devote himself to the medical profession, to which he had been educated, but conceiving the idea of reporting the debates of Congress in a form similar to that in which the debates of the British Parliament are reported for preservation, he set himself about the task, and, with a reputation which his talents alone gave him, undertook the enterprise under the patronage of the Senate, but the lower House dissenting from a like contract, the undertaking after a year was for the time abandoned. He never, however, gave up the idea of ultimately carrying out his view, and his plan will yet be adopted by others, and with success."

For the National Era.

DISSATISFIED.

BY MISS ALICE CAREY.

For me, in all life's desert sands,
No well is made, no tent is spread;
Even the cool dews of Mercy's hands,
Like fires have fallen upon my head.

For I have been with Fate at war,
And shall be so till life shall cease,
Worshipping the unattained and far,
And there, and only there, at peace.

On every life, at times, save mine,
Beauty has gathered like a crown—
O desolate, reft, it must be thine,
When all thy burdens are laid down!

Night, night! make gentle the embrace,
Which still the light of joyance bars,
While through the cloudy realms I trace
The eternal wanderings of the stars.

Light, lightly, thou of murmurous lip,
Twine round my neck thy breezy arm—
Hope, like a frail dismasted ship,
Drifts at the mercy of the storm.

The radiance of my mortal star
Is crossed with signs of woe to me;
And all my thoughts and wishes are
Pale wanderers toward eternity.

Stricken, riven helplessly apart
From all that blest the path I trod;
O tempt me, tempt me not, my heart,
To arraign the goodness of my God.

For suffering hath been made sublime,
And souls that lived and died alone,
Have left an echo for all time,
As they went wailing to the throne.

There have been moments when I dared
Believe life's mystery a breath,
And deem Faith's milky bosom bared
To the betraying arms of Death!

For the immortal life but mocks
The soul that feels its ruin dire,
And like a tortured demon rocks
Upon the cradling waves of fire.

But when, in half reluctant prayer,
We raise our blindly selfish eyes,
Peace, clasping close the Cross, is there,
And singing songs of Paradise.

FREE SOIL AND FREE SPEECH.

The arrest of Mr. Whitney in Ireland—on that soil which boasts "it cannot sustain a slave"—for reciting a speech of Patrick Henry's, has already been referred to, but more full particulars will be found below.

The whole proceeding strikes us as somewhat extraordinary, to say the least of it. If Patrick Henry's speeches are contraband there, what must be the penalty attached to the recitation of one of Curran's?

Every community of course has the right of protecting itself against interlopers, but in this case the proceeding was as tyrannical as the pretext was frivolous.—*Columbia (S. C.) Telegraph.*

Mr. Whitney, a citizen of this country, has been delivering lectures in Great Britain and Ireland on American Oratory, accompanying his lectures with recitations. In Dublin he recited the famous speech of Patrick Henry, in which he exclaims, "We *must* fight! I repeat, sir, we must fight! An appeal to arms and to the God of Hosts is all that is left for us!" When the orator uttered these words, the noted juror in Duffy's case, Mr. Burke, arose and cried, "I am of that man's opinion." The effect was electric; the whole audience rose, and broke out in the most vehement cheering. The result was, Mr. Whitney was arrested on the charge of sedition, and, the alternative being presented of going to Newgate, or giving bonds to leave Ireland at once, he gave bonds. [illegible] with the *Telegraph* that this act of the Government was tyrannical; but why should that paper sneer at England? In its own State, a worse outrage has been perpetrated. [illegible] now lies in Spartanburg jail, for no other offence than that of being the unwitting agent of circulating a few documents, on the unequal distribution of political power in South Carolina, far less inflammatory than Patrick Henry's speech. A South Carolinian is the last man to talk of Free Speech. There is not a Despotism on earth in which less freedom of speech exists than in his own State. There is neither Law nor Liberty there. At this moment, the only Government in South Carolina is a Provisional one, not of the People, but of the People's masters. Its newspapers are filled with proceedings that would do no discredit to the Cardinals of Rome.

For example, the *Charleston Mercury* of August 29, 1849, contains a report of the proceedings of a meeting of the citizens of St. Peter's Parish, called on the 8th of February, "to take into consideration the fact that the Rev. W. H. Brisbane, M. D., was in this section of the country, and to devise some plan by which to rid ourselves of the presence of so unprincipled a personage." So runs the preamble.

The manner in which they proceeded to rid themselves of the obnoxious gentleman, was indicative of the profound respect for Law, and magnanimous toleration, so characteristic of the chivalry of South Carolina. A committee, appointed on the subject, reported that "Dr. Brisbane, an open and unscrupulous Abolitionist," was *in their midst.*

"Your committee beg leave to say, that they approach the subject with intense delicacy—a delicacy prompted by a settled respect for his numerous and highly respectable connections; but, forbearance sometimes ceases to be a virtue; and we think, in this case, the public have sacrificed *enough* to respect for family. And we now think, in consideration of all the facts connected with the case, it is time for action. William H. Brisbane was once of us; he went out from and has turned against us, publishing at various times his reasons for becoming an Abolitionist, and sending those reasons to his friends and acquaintances throughout this region of country. Your committee think that William H. Brisbane, M. D., has not always stated facts, but, on the contrary, we know that, in assailing us and our institutions, he has stated as facts what we know are falsehoods, touching individuals, not sparing even his own family.

"About four years since he visited this section of country, and, after his return North, gave a garbled and false statement of his sojourn here, endeavoring to make capital for himself, by recounting the great personal risks he encountered in appearing among us; when, unfortunately for ourselves, he was permitted to remain and depart, unmolested, after having settled his personal and private business, having made no public demonstration of himself or his Abolition principles. But, during his present sojourn, he has had the audacity to show himself in one of our pulpits, there alluding to his estrangement from his native place 'not being the result of choice, but of necessity—a necessity brought about by the force of conscience;' there, insulting us with the prayer that 'universal liberty might soon prevail.'

"In consideration of these facts, and regarding him, as we do, to be an enemy to his country, a *traitor* to the South, and particularly dangerous to this section, where he has the sympathy of the slaves, having liberated a *part* of his own here, we think he should not be permitted to rest among us. Therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That a committee of three wait on the Rev. William H. Brisbane, M. D., instanter, and warn him to leave the State in forty-eight hours, or abide the consequences from a hitherto patient but now indignant community.

"*Resolved*, That if the committee find Mr. Brisbane unwilling to depart, that they wait upon the Chairman and Secretary, who are charged with disseminating the information, so as to call the people together at an early day.

"It has been ascertained that, on the day of the meeting, Brisbane was wending his way northward, having left the neighborhood the night previous.

"JOSIAH D. JOHNSON, *Chairman.*
"JOHN M. TAYLOR, *Secretary.*"

Of course, those who know Dr. Brisbane know that the "intense delicacy" of the committee failed to restrain them from slandering him, in the gross and unsustained charge of falsehood made against him. But, admit that the Doctor was "unprincipled," that he was an "open and avowed Abolitionist," that he had been guilty of "false statements," that he had endeavored "to make capital for himself by recounting his great personal risks," that he had the audacity to show himself in the pulpit in his native place, and refer to his departure from it "as the result, not of choice, but necessity," that he was so exceedingly wicked as to pray that "universal liberty might soon prevail;" we should then like to know under what law the people of St. Peter's Parish warned him out of the State under pain of being lynched? If all "unprincipled" men are to be lynched, South Carolina would soon be in a condition of dreadful suffering. If all making "false statements," and all laboring "to make capital for themselves," are to be turned out of the State in forty-eight hours, South Carolina would be exceedingly reduced in population. If men are to suffer the righteous "indignation" of an "outraged community," for a difference of opinion and of practical relations in respect to slavery, Lynch Law would be the prevalent code from the Rio Grande to the St. Croix. While they were hanging an "open and unscrupulous Abolitionist" in South Carolina, they might be quartering an unblushing slaveholder in Massachusetts. While they were scourging a preacher in one section for praying that "universal liberty might soon prevail," they might be flaying one in another, for justifying eternal slavery.

But, the "intense delicacy" of the Slaveholding Provisional Government was destined to another severe trial, in which the more than Roman heroism of "the citizens of St. Peter's Parish" came off more than conqueror. Dr. T. D. MATHEWS, a gentleman of extensive connections in said Parish and thereabouts, and a kinsman of the man who was so *audacious* as to pray "that universal liberty might soon prevail," in an evil hour wrote a burlesque description of an Indignation Meeting in South Carolina, drawing his materials from the famous proceedings of the citizens of St. Peter's Parish. It was rather an amusing sketch. On our way from the sea shore, a year ago, Dr. Brisbane, who then resided at Haddonfield, New Jersey, handed us the manuscript, with the request that we would publish it, if not too long. We took it home, read it all over carefully—found many parts tedious, drew the pen across them, and at one time thought we would publish it; but we could not compress it within small limits enough, and at last, as the Doctor was getting out of patience, returned it to him, mailed to Cincinnati, whither he had meantime removed. The manuscript was very satirical on the indignation meetings of South Carolina, and abounded in severe denunciations of the spirit of intolerance and lynch law. It was subsequently published in the *Cincinnati Globe*, copies of which, we presume, must have been sent to South Carolina. It was enough. The citizens of St. Peter's Parish called another Indignation Meeting, to consider what should be done in relation "to an article, offensive in its personal allusions, and Anti-Southern in its spirit, under the caption of the Indignation Meeting, by T. D. Mathews, of South Carolina." A committee was again appointed. Dr. Mathews was called upon to attend. He read his defence, setting forth that he was "no Abolitionist," that "he was a defender of the institution of slavery both in public and private," that he "scorned and detested Abolitionists," &c. He proceeded to deny that the article, as it appeared in the *Cincinnati Globe*, was the article he had written. The Committee thereupon report:

"Your committee have heard with much pleasure the explanations and disclaimer of Dr. Mathews; and, although they are not willing to impute to him any improper motive, yet they cannot refrain from expressing their disapprobation of his connection with the article under consideration, as admitted by himself. They most decidedly disapprove of Dr. Mathew's placing a communication of such a nature in the power of one notoriously opposed to the institutions of the South. There are, however, many circumstances which ought to palliate, if not excuse, this indiscretion. Dr. Mathews is a near relative of the Rev. W. H. Brisbane; and, however different the political or religious sentiments of individuals may be, it is difficult to sever the ties of kindred. In the opinion of the committee, Dr. Mathews has this day given sufficient evidence to satisfy this meeting that he is true to the South upon the subject of slavery. They, therefore, respectfully recommend the adoption of the following preamble and resolutions:

"Whereas an article purporting to be written by Dr. T. D. Mathews, and styled the 'Indignation Meeting,' has recently appeared in the 'Cincinnati Globe,' which has seriously offended the citizens of this parish, and given rise to much excitement; and whereas a public meeting has this day been called to investigate and resent any injury or insult which may have been intended; and whereas Dr. T. D. Mathews has, by request, appeared and disclaimed having written the article as it now appears in the Globe, alleging that he had been misrepresented by an Abolitionist, W. H. Brisbane, and declaring that he never intended to offend any Southern community, inasmuch as he avows his interests and sentiments to be identical with those of the whole South upon the subject of slavery; therefore,

"1. *Resolved*, That this meeting, after hearing the defence of Dr. Mathews, is forced to the conclusion that he is true to the South, and we hereby declare that his disclaimer and explanations are satisfactory.

"2. *Resolved*, That we believe Dr. Mathews has been imposed upon; that he has been misrepresented by Brisbane for the purpose of alienating him from his home and our peculiar institutions.

"3. *Resolved*, That these proceedings be published in the Charleston Mercury and Courier, the Columbia South Carolinian, and the Savannah Georgian. [These papers are requested to copy.]

"On motion, the meeting then adjourned.

"J. D. JOHNSON, *Chairman.*
"JOHN M. TAYLOR, *Secretary.*"

Poor Dr. Mathews! to have a wet blanket thrown over the fire of his genius in this kind of style! We hope Dr. Brisbane will be forbearing. Should he send the original manuscript to the Provisional Government of St. Peter's Parish, there would be another intense Indignation Meeting, and Dr. Mathews would be sure to "catch it." We advise the Doctor hereafter to curb his literary appetite, and to devote himself with single-mindedness to the solemn duties of his profession. Pills will pass current with the chivalry, when jokes will not. The good people of South Carolina are not to be sneezed at. He may inflict his calomel upon them, and be paid for it; but not his wit, or he will have to pay for it. Perhaps it will be some consolation to him to recollect that he can drug them to death with impunity, if he cannot laugh at them.

The last chapter we shall present of the acts of the Provisional Government, is a little less Pickwickian. Here it is, from the *Charleston Mercury*, which gives it publicity, without any apparent consciousness that the proceedings are not entirely reputable:

"MORE ABOLITIONISM.

By the following letter from an esteemed correspondent, it will be perceived that the Abolitionists are still active in their incendiary efforts:

PENDLETON, *Sept.* 16, 1849.

GENTLEMEN: By the mail of Friday, there were received at this place a number of copies of an Abolition circular, directed to the members of the Committee of Vigilance. The Executive Committee of that body, on the following day, demanded the letters of the postmaster. On his refusal to deliver them, they entered his office, and took them by force. This case presents a new feature of an important matter, which is deeply agitating the public mind. Among the reforms which our enemies propose to accomplish in this State, it will not escape your notice that the election of President of the United States occupies a prominent position.

It need scarcely be remarked, that the war which the fanatics of the North are so perseveringly waging against the peace and security of the South cannot much longer be carried on only by one party. An offensive attitude by the other it will be impossible to restrain the people very shortly from assuming.

Respectfully yours, S."

The Abolition circulars, we presume, are copies of "Brutus," a publication, it will be recollected, containing not a word about slavery or emancipation, but intended to arouse the disfranchised whites to a sense of their political degradation. It will be observed that the circulars were directed to members of the Vigilance Committee, a set of gentlemen who, it might be supposed, are sufficiently hysterical on the slavery question. Taking this in connection with the fact that no such documents are troubling other parts of the South, the fair inference is, that some wag is playing upon the fears and fancies of the chivalry of South Carolina. But, be this as it may, we should like to know whether the Postmaster General intends to permit these outrages against the Post Office to go on. The remedy is in his hands. If the Post Office in any locality cannot be protected against robbery, let him abolish it. If the Provisional Government of South Carolina claim the right to break into the Post Offices in that State, and break open and destroy what packages and letters it pleases, abolish its Post Offices. Such outrages are an infamy upon the States, and if tolerated by the Postmaster General, are an infamy on his Department.

THE REUNION IN NEW YORK.

The New York Courier and Enquirer, the Journal of Commerce, Bennett's Herald, and other pro-slavery papers, that would rally the conservatives of all parties in support of General Taylor, regard the reunion of the Democrats in New York as the triumph of Barnburnerism over Hunkerism. This view of the movement may produce disaffection in the ranks of the incorrigible Hunkers, and drive them into indirect, if not direct, support of Taylorism.

On the other hand, the New York Tribune, and other Anti-Slavery Whig papers, that are aiming to bring back alienated Whig Free-Soilers to the ranks of their old party, denounce the reunion as the triumph of Hunkerism over Barnburnerism, and the appeal is openly made to the Liberty Men and Whigs who voted for Van Buren, to repudiate the Barnburners, and take refuge in the Taylor party.

Some of the Free Soil journals in other States seem disposed, unfortunately, to take their cue from the Tribune. They emulate the bitterness of that terribly partisan sheet, in their unqualified impeachment of the integrity of the radical Democracy. We can easily understand why they should question the propriety of the step the Barnburners have taken. This is a fair subject for friendly criticism among those who have coöperated with them. To such criticism, we undertake to say, no reasonable Democrat in New York will object. But we are grieved to see any Free Soil paper following in the wake of the Tribune in the ruthless charges of base corruption against the Barnburners. There is nothing to support such charges but old party prejudice. It is rather hazardous for a man to pronounce positive judgment on the policy of measures carried out in a section, with the sentiments and circumstances of whose people he must possess but a limited acquaintance. It is totally indefensible to pass hasty and harsh sentence upon the motives of men in another State, who have made many sacrifices to their consistency, and whose first questionable act may have been dictated by reasons impossible to be at once appreciated by the distant spectator.

We say frankly that we intend our remarks to apply to our friend of the Cleveland True Democrat. We have been astonished to see such editorial paragraphs in his paper as the following. Speaking of the reunion, he says—

"Need we go into detail to show that this is *a wedding of lust and shame?* Logic is useless. All detail is folly. The instinct of the heart tells every honest man that *there is no justification, and can be no palliation, of the black deed.* It is *a deliberate sale for the spoils of office.*"

Logic is not useless, nor is all detail folly. We submit to our friend that a detailed account of the proceedings of the reunion, and an exercise of logic, in showing wherein they involved a departure from sound principle and policy, would have been in better taste, and more profitable than a wholesale denunciation of the transaction and the actors, as treason and traitors. Why will not the *Democrat* give its readers an opportunity to know precisely what was done, what resolutions were passed, what were the acts of the Utica Convention, of the Syracuse Mass Convention, what the speeches made, the policy and purposes avowed? Does not justice require this? It condemns the Barnburners as guilty of a crime, but does not permit them to be heard by its readers.

Here is another paragraph from the same paper.

"The Albany Atlas, the central organ of the Barnburners, whose columns have been teeming with lofty appeals in behalf of Freedom, since the union speaks as follows:

"'It will re-unite, in its support, all the Democrats who, in 1846, voted for Governor Wright. It is generally acceptable, we learn, to those who have joined our ranks, since then, from the Whig and Liberty parties, *to all of them, at least, who believe that the Democratic party is destined to control the Government of the country*, and who believe that, as members of it, they will be more influential than in any other position, in directing its power actively and perpetually on the side of freedom and good government.'

"The man who beds himself in a gutter is no fit lecturer on morals, and we do not think the editor who traded away principle for the hope of success, exactly the person to lift the cause of Freedom. We know not which feeling rose strongest on reading this paragraph—pity or scorn!"

Is this style of reproach fraternal? What right has the Democrat to charge the Atlas with having traded away principle for the hope of success? The Atlas is of opinion that a certain policy will prove most effectual in arraying the influence of the Government actively and perpetually on the side of Freedom: the Democrat thinks differently, and therefore tells his brother that he has made his "bed in the gutter!" The Barnburners believe that two-thirds of the Hunkers are Anti-Slavery in their principles; that by uniting with them they may place the Democratic party of the State of New York on the Buffalo platform. The Democrat does not agree with them. Very well—that disagreement is one of opinion; it is a legitimate subject of discussion, but not a fit cause for denunciation. In the name of Heaven, why must the opponents of slavery forever be divided by jealousies, distrusts, criminations and recriminations? The radical Democrats of New York deny that they have abandoned their principles, or intend to abandon them. In the moment of their reunion, they reiterate their characteristic views with strong emphasis, and boldly announce their purpose to commit the undivided Democratic party to the cause of Freedom. They may fail; to say the least, the movement is a hazardous one, but this is no reason for renouncing sympathy with them, no justification of such reproaches as those hastily uttered by the True Democrat. On the contrary, it is just the reason why the friends of Free Soil throughout the country should use all their influence to strengthen the avowed purpose of these radical Democrats, to aid them so far as can be done, in realizing all the good contemplated by the movement.

Let us hear the testimony of candid witnesses. The editor of the *Wyoming* (N. Y.) *Mirror*, a Whig who preferred Van Buren to Taylor, was present at the Convention at Utica, and thus reports:

"Upon the propriety of effecting a union in this way there was a decided difference of opinion in the Convention. I freely confess I was opposed to it; mainly for the reason that the officers presented for our consideration, by the Cass section, were not known to be in full favor of our principles. To this, and other objections, it was answered—first, that this Convention had passed strong resolutions on the subject of slavery, and every man of the party was determined to carry them out whenever they could possibly have any effect. Second, if a union was formed, and the two sections could come into Conventions together, three-fourths and probably nine-tenths of the Cass section would go for the same doctrines. Third, these were all offices that could have nothing to do with advancing or retarding the principles of the party upon the slavery question, (and it was probably this consideration that carried the resolution.) And fourth, that it was known that these men, presented by the Cass section, were all of them opposed to slavery and its extension, and some of them fully with us on the question. As the readers of the Mirror will probably have the privilege of seeing the arguments used in the Convention, by the strong men on both sides, I will forego further reflections at the present. I will just say, however, that I do not expect any Free-Soiler, who believes it is important that all the State officers should come up to our standard of principles, and that these do not or will not, will give his support to these men. If he really thinks a principle is at stake, he cannot. But if the reasons urged on the other side are good, every Free-Soiler can heartily support the whole ticket.

"The Convention is undoubtedly one of the ablest ever assembled in the State. But what is most cheering is, that although there has been a difference in relation to the propriety of adopting the men presented by the Cass section, *there is not a man in the Convention who advocates that measure who supposes it would be lowering our Free Soil standard, in the least—and the determination to maintain our principles upon the slavery question at all hazards manifested itself in rapturous applause, whenever the speeches alluded to the subject. Not a single man of this Convention believes in dodging or blinking that question, and the majority, who adopted the resolution nominating the candidates presented by the Cass section, do not believe that course will be so considered.*"

The editor of the Wyoming Mirror seceded from the Whig party just about the time the editor of the True Democrat left it. The former was a witness of the proceedings and speeches of the Utica Convention; the latter was a distant auditor by telegraph. How different their views!

Let us now hear from an old and influential Liberty Man, who was also present in the same Convention. He writes:

SENECA FALLS, *September* 21, 1849.

* * * * * * * *

2. The proposition to us from the Syracuse Convention, to put four particular men on our ticket, was the reaction of the bad course of their leaders at Rome. It was fought through the Convention by the Free Soil Hunkers against the the pro-slavery Hunkers. It was carried, after a long and violent debate, by fourteen majority, on the calling of the yeas and nays. It was a triumph of the Free Soil Hunkers. Consider, then, the source whence the proposal came.

3. There is no special objection to the four men, except that they voted for Cass. One of them has been an out-and-out Barnburner, except voting for Cass; two others are known to hold to the power and duty of Congress over slavery in the Territories as we do; and the other is supposed to, and, being a candidate for an unimportant office, it is of little consequence.

4. Considering whence the proposal came, and the circumstances under which it was fought through, and the character of the four men, and the temper of a good many of our own party, if we had flatly rejected it, and nominated an independent ticket, we should have been in a false position, while the cause would have suffered great damage.

5. We early arrived at the conclusion, in our Convention, that we must, therefore, nominate these four men. *How to do it*, was the question, without sacrificing principle, position, and self-respect. We, at Utica, you know, were the "regular" Democratic Convention, according to the usage of twenty-five years, and the "regular" Free Soil Convention, of one year's standing. We must nominate our own ticket, and nobody's else. So, we laid the Hunker proposition on the table, went on, and affirmed all our principles about slavery, in clear and emphatic terms, and nominated *our* ticket throughout, putting on the list their four men, made provision for their being notified and requested to accept, and for filling their places if they or any of them declined. Thus, we made the ticket that of the "regular" Free Democracy, and we are the only Convention yet held that has a whole ticket of its own in the field.

6. We were aware that though we might thus save our position, and violate no principle, yet, as the Hunkers would be compelled to withdraw half of their ticket, the result would substantially be "union." We did not fear this, because we felt confident that three-fourths of the Hunkers agreed with us on the slavery question. If we made no mistake in this calculation, the result must be the placing the entire Democracy of New York in the head column of Free Soil within six months. Well, were we right?—for it was worth an effort, and even a risk of anything but principle, to put ourselves in an attitude where we could put New York right before the country.

Our friends who have distrusted, or so bitterly impeached the motives of the radical Democrats, will see that there are two sides to the question, and that there is abundant reason for charity and hope.

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE.

BERLIN, *September* 11, 1849.

To the Editor of the National Era:

How often has it been repeated that Frenchmen are too fickle to live under a Republic, repeated until nearly everybody in England and America is quite prepared to hear the news of a restoration of one of the branches of the Bourbon family. This general want of confidence in the French has arisen partly from the old idea of the levity of their national character, and partly from the indefatigable activity of the small party of Legitimists. The friends of Henry Bourbon, Duke of Bordeaux and Count de Chambord, are found principally among the old and rich families and what is commonly called the "high" Catholic clergy. They are able to establish journals, buy up the first reviews, and keep under pay writers of every grade, from the play-writer who satirizes republicanism on the stage, to the grave journalists who never pen an article without reflecting that he may, one day, hold in his hands the portfolio of a Minister. The Legitimist party in France, like aristocratic parties everywhere, is without conscience as to the use of means to gain its ends. Although it has not dared, since the Revolution, to raise its proper banner, it never ceases to assert that the vast majority of the people is on its side. At one time it industriously circulates the report that Louis Bonaparte is convinced that the French nation desires its hereditary monarch, and has agreed to assist in placing him on the throne, only too happy to be considered his first subject. At another, that the Duke of Bordeaux has recognised the Count de Paris as his heir, and that the Duke is soon to make his triumphal entry into the capital. At another, that the Russians, Prussians, and Austrians, are about to make an united attack on France, unless the citizens avoid such a disaster by accepting their lawful King. A few weeks ago, the Legitimist papers and their dupes assured France that all the Councils of the eighty-six departments were fully prepared to recommend an immediate revision of the Constitution, with a view to submit to the people the choice between a monarch and a republic. The Councils have duly assembled, but not one of them has followed the lead of the Legitimists. Wherever the proposition was made, it was immediately repulsed. The Councils have recommended the strengthening of the Republic, the restoration of tranquillity to the public mind, the non-increase of taxation, and sundry measures more or less calculated to give stability to the present form. This is a terrible check to the turbulent and noisy little party under the lead of Berryer and Montalembert.

Yet in a few days will it be as active in its unscrupulous warfare as ever. The world will not believe that France is really republican. The other countries in Europe do not believe it. Most of the Americans I have met on the Continent do not believe it, and it is probable that nine-tenths of the American People would not be much surprised to hear, by the next steamer, that the legitimate master, "by the grace of God," had resumed possession of his long longed-for heritage. Will nothing convince the skeptics? At three different elections, the whole French people has declared itself for the Republic. The President, filled with a restless ambition to become Emperor, has at length, in despair, resigned himself to fill his official term as well as he may. There is no chance of success for "*coups d'état*," and, after a stubborn silence of many months, he has at last declared himself, and now drinks toasts to the Republic, and sets the example, at a banquet, of shouting "*Vive la République!*" which had been thought for a long time, by his courtiers, a cry bordering on the seditious. In every instance, too when the cause of order has been attacked by demagogues, acting on the passions of the masses of workmen collected at Paris by Louis Philippe to build the fortifications, the moral and physical forces of the country suppressed them almost immediately. If these facts are not sufficient to show that France is still living, and that she is resolved to preserve democratic institutions, take the opinion of the Legitimists themselves. These gentlemen have thrown out a programme of principles, on which a restoration should be effected. The first article in it is, "Royalty founded on universal suffrage." This is equivalent to an acknowledgment, by Messrs. Montalembert, La Rochejaquelin, Nettemart, and Berryer, that democracy has gained the heart of the people. The second article is, "Greater liberty of the press." Doubtless the King on his throne would soon repent of all liberal promises, and deprive the people of their liberties, as the executioner said when he cut off Don Carlos's head, for their good; but the present promises show the estimate placed by Legitimists themselves on the state of public opinion. An attentive study of the history of France will show that the progress of the French nation since 1789 has been uniform. First, it founded its *unity* under Napoleon, and the equality of all before the law; then under Louis and Charles, and finally under Louis Philippe, the principle of government by the *bourgeoisie*, the natural prelude to government by the whole people. The institutions and the masses have been gradually becoming more democratic, and at present no other form of government is possible in France. In 1851 or 1852, there may be troubles there, but these must be but temporary. Nothing short of an European war can prevent the naturalization of freedom and free institutions among the French.

It is true, that the difficulties in the path of the young Republic are serious. An enormous army and a martial spirit, a salaried clergy, sworn enemies to popular liberty and popular intelligence, a cumbrous system of civil administration, hosts of useless officers in every department, a vicious system of taxation, a budget of expenses exceeding the receipts, want of energy and skill in her statesmen, and, lastly, the ignorance of the working classes, made more dangerous by a singular mixture of infidelity and superstition—these are the difficulties France has to contend with. Her first steps have been vacillating, but they will grow firmer. We who are so prone to blame France for the aristocratic usages at the Elysée National, and for her severe laws, will do well to remember that the ceremonial at the White House in the days of Washington differed greatly from that used by General Taylor, and that Alien and Sedition laws have been heard of on the western side of the Atlantic. Give France time to get rid of her old habits, and she will be worthy of her transatlantic sister.

The entire failure of the Legitimists to influence the Departmental Councils, and the new aspect of affairs at Rome, have formed the staple of the last week's politics at Paris. Spite of the coaxings, expostulations, and remonstrances of the French Government, the Pope pursued his policy of restoring Rome to its political condition under Gregory XVI, governed by inquisitorial courts, under a mixed code of laws, consisting of Papal bulls, Council orders, opinions of cardinals, &c., the product of several centuries of ecclesiastical misrule. This was all directly in the teeth of public sentiment in France. Not a man in France, excepting always the high clergy and a few divine-right royalists of the type of Montalembert, favored this return to barbarism. The French Government was entitled to the gratitude, at least, of the Pope, and a conformity on his part to its principles, so as not to disgrace it in the eyes of the world. But for France, Rome had been as effectively lost to the Pope as if it had been buried in the depths of the sea; and it would be as reasonable to expect the French to recognise in Rome the old institutions of the Papal Government, as to expect the Dutch to recognise in the drowned island just recovered from the sea, the boundaries and landmarks established in the days of the first Saxons.

The letter of President Bonaparte to his Envoy, M. Ney, is plain enough. He says that four things must be consented to by the Pope: a general amnesty, secularization of the administration, the introduction of the Code Napoleon, and a liberal government. This is all very well. It is doubtful, however, whether the Pope will submit. He has often threatened that, in such an event, he would throw himself on the protection of Austria, and disclaim the alliance of France. This course might lead to serious complications, possibly a war, but more probably diplomatic negotiations, ending in a compromise. The well-known obstinacy of the character of President Bonaparte leads to the supposition that he will not yield a jot. The compromise would probably be based on the portion of territory actually occupied by the different parties. Austria might establish the Papal despotism at Bologna and Ancona, while France would introduce something like liberal institutions and a good code of laws at Rome.

The occasion of this sudden energy on the part of the French Government is the formation, by the Pope's reigning Cardinals, of a commission, for the punishment of all offences committed during the revolution. This might have led to the arraignment of every man, woman, and child, in Rome, and certainly gave full scope for the vengeance of the priests. It was directly opposed to the views of the French, who had, in fact, promised a general amnesty for political offences. We shall hear in a few days the effect of this change of conduct on the part of France. The Cardinals have already declared that, if the French did not leave them free to do as they pleased, they would leave the city. It appears certain that the intervention of the French has saved Rome from being the theatre of an extensive massacre of political prisoners, similar to those at Bologna and Ancona.

The situation of the Italian exiles is one of extreme misery. Repulsed from nearly all the Mediterranean ports, most of them have expended their means in fruitless efforts to find a place of refuge. Recently, indeed, Piedmont has opened its hospitable doors, and appropriated funds for their succor. But this aid comes late, for most of the exiles have found their way to Greece or Algiers, or are on their way to America. At one time, several hundred of these unfortunate men lay off Malta in small ships, the Governor refusing to let them land, and they without means to get farther. The generosity of the Italian princess Belgiojoso, so celebrated for her patriotism, and for whose delivery a large reward is offered by the Austrian Government, enabled these unfortunate men to pursue their journey to Greece.

Large numbers of both Italian and German revolutionists have taken refuge in Switzerland. Some of the latter have saved themselves from extreme misery by enlisting in the Swiss guards of his Majesty the King of Naples! The King may find some day, to his cost, that he has imported revolution into the very precincts of his palace. His Swiss guards have once saved his throne. He is entitled to their affection, for he pays them well, clothes them excellently, grants them a great many privileges, and settles handsome pensions on those who complete their full term of service. The inducements he offers to enlist are so great, that the Swiss Government has not been able to prevent new recruitments, or to prevail on the Swiss soldiers at Naples to return home.

The refugees at Geneva, among whom are Mazzini of Rome, Boichot and Considerant of Paris, awaken the apprehension of all the crowned heads of Europe. It would almost appear that a plan has been formed to attack Switzerland, and force her to dismiss the exiles, or deliver them up for punishment. The "*Assemblée Nationale*," a violent reactionary paper at Paris, says that the plan is actually in progress of execution, that Austria is about to take possession of Southern Switzerland, and, sustained by Prussia and Russia, demand not only the sending away of the political refugees, but a return to the miserable *Sonderbund* Constitution, destroyed in 1847 by the Swiss people. One of the Berlin papers says that the Prussian Government has received a note from France, promising support of any measures to destroy the nest of conspirators in Switzerland. This is almost incredible. A more probable report is, that Austria, Russia, and Prussia, have addressed a joint note to France, demanding its coöperation to restore the cantonal Constitution guarantied by the treaties of 1815, and to force Switzerland to expel the fugitives. The nature of the answer is not yet known. Can France act against Switzerland? Louis Napoleon cannot forget that he was once protected by that Republic against the diplomacy and menaces of Louis Philippe. Should the weakness of Switzerland make her an exception to the general international law? Belgium protects refugees; so does England; and so has France, until within a few months. No case of war has been made against any of them.

The opinion is freely expressed here, that a general European war is more imminent than ever. This is based on three great facts: the change of policy of France at Rome, leading directly to a collision with Spain, Austria, and Naples; the presence of six thousand refugees in Switzerland, inviting an attack of the Allied Powers; and a supposed agreement between Austria and Russia, by which the latter gains the cession of nearly all Gallicia, and of the mouths of the Cattaro river, and the former is to have the support of Russia in taking the Turkish provinces of Albania, Servia, and Bosnia, already in a state of insurrection. This last agreement is believed, at Constantinople, to have been made, and the Sublime Porte is most uneasy as to the future. A statement made by correspondents from Constantinople would seem to confirm the opinion of the Porte; it is, that 15,000 muskets have been supplied by Russia to the Bosnia insurgents. A quarrel can easily be made, as there are many old causes of complaint between Russia and Turkey. One may grow out of the demand recently made by Russia and Austria, for the extradition of the Hungarian fugitives. In case of a war, Russia could appropriate entirely the provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia, which she has so long coveted; and Austria, as her ally, could seize on the Sclavonic provinces of Albania, Servia, and Bosnia, which are already anxious for union with the Sclavonic provinces of Austria.

These are the rumors in the political world. The majority of the journals seem to think a general war inevitable. *La Presse*, the able journal of M. de Girardin, who has taken the Peace Congress under his especial patronage, has ceased suddenly to advocate the reduction of the French army, alleging that, in present circumstances such advocacy would appear like "treason to the country."

The newspapers have so often raised this cry of "danger ahead," that we should look twice before believing it fully warranted. In the Roman affair, the new course of France is not at all opposed to the often expressed opinion of the monarchical Powers. Bonaparte advocates nothing but administrative and legal reform. He specifies secularization of offices and the introduction of the Napoleon Code as the governmental measures to be adopted. Not one word about the rights of the people, or a representative system. What is this but the administrative reform so often recommended by Guizot, Palmerston, and Metternich, and not objected to by Nesselrode himself? It is the only means, in fact to appease the discontent of the Roman people and to preserve the Papal power, without the assistance of a large standing army. Why, then should the European Powers make it a case of war?

As to Switzerland, the want of objection on that part of Europe for so long a time, the general recognition of her nationality under the new Constitution, takes from the monarchical party all pretext for the restoration of the old one. An intervention may take place to obtain the expulsion of the political refugees, but even this is extremely doubtful. Switzerland is small, but full of vigor. She can put on foot an admirably disciplined army of one hundred thousand men, who would renew in the west the desperate battles of the Magyar heroes. Such an attack, so entirely unprovoked, on an independent nation, for exercising the virtue of hospitality, might kindle up a general conflagration. It would be quite as well for Austria and Russia to avoid this. The wounded pride and personal passions of Monarchs and Ministers will scarcely make them so heedless.

The combined attack of Russia and Austria on Turkey is still more improbable. Doubtless the Czar intends to pursue steadily his policy of encroaching more and more on Turkish territory. For that very reason, he will be opposed to placing any part of this territory under the protection of his old rival, Austria. Besides, the relations subsisting at present between Russia and Austria are not of the most friendly character. Austria suspects, with reason, her late ally of having tampered with the Hungarians. Why did Russian officers accept, at their full value, the Hungarian bank notes, if not to win favor with the Magyars? Did not the Czar himself furnish the funds? This was done when the Austrian generals had declared the notes entirely valueless, and had burned all they could lay hands on. Why, too, did the Czar make himself the mediator between Hungary and the Court of Vienna, and engage to obtain favorable terms, if not to retain always the right to meddle in Hungarian affairs? Austria remembers well that the first interference of Russia in the affairs of Wallachia and Moldavia was to secure religious liberty for the inhabitants. Since then, she has, step by step, advanced to the almost complete mastery of those provinces.

The Czar, on his side, is seriously displeased with Austria. His troops, the very flower of his army, were left almost without food, and were once in imminent danger of perishing, because the Austrian Government, which had agreed to furnish provisions, waited for a fall in the price of corn. The Czar has manifested in every way his joy at the close of the war. Royal honors were shown to General Paskiewitch on his reception at Warsaw. The larger part of the Russian army has already returned or is returning to Gallicia and the Polish provinces. Nothing on the part of the Czar seems to indicate the commencement of a new campaign either against Turkey or the West.

For these reasons, which are very briefly given, and others, connected mostly with the financial condition of the different countries in Europe, the writer does not believe the danger of a general war in Europe imminent.

The barbarities perpetrated by Austria on the Hungarian prisoners are so great as to be incredible in a civilized country. Men have been forced to commit suicide, others have been hanged, shot, or sentenced to confinement in chains. Women have been punished as the men. Prisoners have been reduced to the last extremity by want of nutritious food. Whole communities have been punished heavily for the fault of one. The miserable Jews have been Christianized at the point of the bayonet, or have renounced the religion of their fathers, to divert from themselves and their families the horrors of starvation. These atrocities have been committed by Haynau and the other Austrian generals—men who have all the ferocity of bandits—who have never been able to conquer in battle—and who are more dextrous with the cord of the hangman than with the sword of the soldier. Orders have been forwarded by the Austrian Ministry to cease the system of summary execution on sentences of drum-head court martials, and to send all cases to the jurisdiction of the ordinary court martials. This will produce an amelioration, and give the opportunity to the Government to pardon, should it feel so disposed.

The garrison of the fortress of Deva, in Transylvania, is said to have blown it up, rather than surrender. Every man perished in the ruins.

Peterwardein surrendered on the 27th of last month. A full pardon was stipulated for the garrison.

The future relations of Hungary to Austria are now the subject of discussion both in the Vienna and Berlin papers. Nothing has been definitively decided on this point. Prince Schwartzenberg, the Prime Minister, has renewed his old project of colonizing with Germans the immense prairies of Hungary. Nothing was wanting a few years ago to the success of this plan, except *colonists*. They may be obtained by high premiums It is the same plan which has been so successfully used in Russia to fill with Germans the Polish province of Posen. At the present time, the Poles are in a minority in a large portion of the province.

The Austrian Ministry has at last resolved to separate entirely the public schools from the church. This is a measure for which France does not yet believe herself ripe.

The Berlin news is not uninteresting. Last week, on the 7th instant, the Second Chamber approved, by a vote of 291 to 3, the League between Prussia, Saxony, and Hanover, and, by a vote of 221 to 73, authorized the Government to change the Prussian Constitution so as to make it conform in all points to the Constitution to be formed by the General Diet of the Empire. This result was expected as a matter of course, the Chambers being entirely devoted to the Monarchy and the Ministry.

On the same day, the First Chamber approved the electoral law granted by the King, on his single authority, and so little in harmony with his previous promises. I have, in a previous letter, given the principle of this law in describing the Electoral law proposed for the Imperial Diet, and called attention to the fact, that all the Democrats and others, amounting to four-fifths of the people, refused to vote under it. The debate gave rise to one remarkable incident. M. Camphausen, the liberal Minister of the 31st of March, of last year, the promulgator of the law of universal suffrage, recanted his faith. He declared himself in favor of the King's law, distributing political influence in proportion to the amount of property held, the doctrine of equal and universal suffrage creating a crying inequality, by raising the poor to the level of the rich. Last year, said he, the law of universal suffrage was a political necessity, and I was forced to sanction it against my own opinion. This confession of M. Camphausen will not contribute to elevate him in the eyes of the Democratic portion of the community, his former admirers.

In a former letter, I noticed the establishment of the telegraph line between Berlin and Vienna; I have now to notice the completion of the line to the seaport of Stettin. The wires are laid on the Russian method, *under ground.* In a very short time the lines will be completed to Frankfort, Cologne, Ostend, and Breslau—that is, along all the railroads in Prussia.

The Ministry has asked funds to enable it to build a railroad from Halle to Lippstadt, another from Berlin to Koenigstadt, on the Baltic, and near the Russian frontier, and to extend a third from Posen to Glogary and Breslau. The Minister stated that twenty-seven private companies had undertaken the construction of railroads in Prussia. Of these, twenty-one had completed their lines, and six were still at work on them. The twenty-one companies had covered the country with a net of railroads, at an expense of 125 million rix dollars. The six had expended already 20 millions.

Of the Government projects, the great east road by Dantzig to Koenigsberg is the most important. It will link together all the parts of the Prussian kingdom, and be most important in case of war with Russia.

The affairs of Germany are in as complicated a condition as ever. A Congress of Princes, the Archduke John, Lieutenant of the Empire, the Austrian Archdukes Stephen and Charles, the Bavarian Crown Prince, and the Prince of Prussia, is in session at Frankfort. The speculations as to the result are very numerous, but nothing certain is yet known. The King of Wurtemberg has had interviews with the King of Bavaria, the Prime Minister of Austria, and the Archduke John. The King of Bavaria has been equally active. The King of Prussia has just returned from a visit to the King of Saxony and a conference with the Emperor of Austria. The Emperor met the two Kings at Tepplitz, and had a long interview with them. It is said that the Emperor is shortly to marry a Saxon Princess, and that this was the subject of the conference. Other

subjects may not have been treated, for several reasons: one of them is, that the Emperor is a youth of nineteen, who has never shown any remarkable talent for affairs, and whose only evidence of having more sense than his aged predecessor is, that he submits to his advisers. Two weeks more will probably give us the result of all this diplomatic activity. W. B.

RICHARD BAXTER.

The picture which the historian Macaulay has drawn of the infamous Jeffreys in his judicial robes, sitting in judgment upon the venerable Richard Baxter, brought before him to answer to an indictment setting forth that the said "Richardus Baxter, persona seditiosa et factiosa pravæ mentis, impiæ, inquietæ turbulent disposition et conversation; falso illicito, injuste nequit factiose seditiose, et irreligiose, fecit, composuit, scripsit quendam falsum, seditiosum, libellosum, factiosum et irreligiosum librum," is so remarkable, that the attention of the most careless reader is at once arrested. Who was that old man, wasted with disease, and ghastly with the pallor of imprisonment, upon whom the foul-mouthed buffoon in ermine exhausted his vocabulary of abuse and ridicule? Who was Richardus Baxter?

The author of works so elaborate and profound as to frighten by their very titles and ponderous folios the modern ecclesiastical student from their perusal, his hold upon the present generation is limited to two little practical treatises, which, from their very nature, can never become obsolete. The "*Call to the Unconverted*," and "*The Saints' Everlasting Rest*," belong to no time or sect. They speak the universal language of the wants and desires of the human soul. They take hold of the awful verities of life and death, righteousness and judgment to come. Through them the suffering and hunted minister of Kidderminster has spoken in warning, entreaty, and rebuke, or in tones of tenderest love and pity, to the hearts of the generations which have succeeded him. His controversial works, his confessions of Faith, his learned disputations, and his profound doctrinal treatises, are no longer read. Their author himself, towards the close of his life, anticipated in respect to these favorite productions—the children of his early zeal, labor, and suffering—the judgment of posterity. "I perceive," he says, "that most of the doctrinal controversies among Protestants are far more about equivocal words than matter. Experience since the year 1643, to this year, 1675, hath loudly called me to repent of my own prejudices, sidings, and censurings of causes and persons not understood, and of all the miscarriages of my ministry and life which have been thereby caused; and to make it my chief work to call men that are within my hearing to more peaceable thoughts, affections, and practices."

Richard Baxter was born at the village of Eton Constantine, in 1615. He received from officiating curates of the little church such literary instruction as could be given by men who had left the farmer's flail, the tailor's thimble, and the service of strolling stage-players, to perform the church drudgery under the Parish incumbent, who was old and well nigh blind. At the age of sixteen, he was sent to a school at Wroxeter, where he spent three years, to little purpose, so far as a scientific education was concerned. His teacher left him to himself mainly, and following the bent of his mind, even at that early period he abandoned the exact sciences for the perusal of such controversial and metaphysical writings of the schoolmen as his master's library afforded. The smattering of Latin which he acquired only served in after years to deform his treatises with barbarous and ill-adapted, and erroneous citations. "As to myself," said he, in his letter written in old age to Anthony Wood, who had inquired whether he was an Oxonian graduate, "my faults are no disgrace to a university, for I was of none; I have but little but what I had out of books, and inconsiderable help of country divines. Weakness and pain helped me to study how to die; that set me a studying how to live; and that on studying the doctrine from which I must fetch my motives and comforts; beginning with necessities, I proceeded by degrees, and am now going to see that for which I have lived and studied."

The first essays of the young theologian as a preacher of the established Church, his early sufferings from that complicity of diseases with which his whole life was tormented, of the still keener afflictions of a mind whose entire out-look upon life and nature was discolored and darkened by its disordered bodily medium, and of the struggles between his Puritan temperament and his reverence for Episcopal formulas, much might be profitably said, did the limits we have assigned ourselves admit. The Great Revolution found him settled as a minister in Kidderminster, under the sanction of a drunken vicar, who, yielding to the clamor of his more sober parishioners, and his fear of their appeal to the Long Parliament, then busy in its task of abating church nuisances, had agreed to give him sixty pounds per year, in the place of his poor, tippling curate, notorious as a common railer and pot-house encumbrance.

As might have been expected, the sharp contrast which the earnest, devotional spirit and the painful strictness of Baxter presented to the irreverent license and careless good humor of his predecessor, by no means commended him to the favor of a large class of his parishioners. Sabbath merry-makers missed the rubicund face and maudlin jollity of their old vicar. The ignorant and vicious disliked the new preacher's rigid morality; the better informed revolted at his harsh doctrines, austere life, and unsocial manner. Young in years, he was, even then, old in bodily suffering and infirmity. His thin, melancholy features were written over like the prophet's role with "mourning, lamentation, and woe."

Believing himself the victim of a mortal disease, he lived and preached in the constant prospect of death. His *memento mori* was in his bed chamber, and sat by him at his frugal meal. The glory of the world was stained to his vision. He was blind to the beauty of all its "pleasant pictures." No monk of Mount Athos, or silent Chartreuse, no anchorite of Indian superstition, had ever more completely mortified the flesh, or turned his back more decidedly upon the "good things" of this life. A solemn and funereal atmosphere surrounded him. He walked in the shadows of the cypress, and literally "dwelt among the tombs." Tortured by incessant pain, he wrestled against its attendant languor and debility, as a sinful wasting of inestimable time; goaded himself to constant toil and devotional exercise, and, to use his own words, "stirred up his sluggish soul to speak to sinners with compassion, as a dying man to dying men."

Such entire consecration could not long be without its effect, even upon the "vicious rabble," as Baxter calls them. His extraordinary earnestness, self-forgetting concern for the spiritual welfare of others; his rigid life of denial and sacrifice, if they failed of bringing men to his feet as penitents, could not but awaken a feeling of reverence and awe. In Kidderminster, as in most other parishes of the kingdom, there were at this period pious, sober, prayerful people, diligent readers of the Scriptures, who were derided by their neighbors as Puritans, precisians, and hypocrites. These were naturally drawn towards the new preacher, and he as naturally recognised them as "honest seekers of the word and way of God." Intercourse with such men, and the perusal of the writings of certain eminent Nonconformists, had the effect to abate, in some degree, his strong attachment to the Episcopal formula and polity. He began to doubt the rightfulness of making the sign of the cross in baptism, and to hesitate about administering the sacrament to profane swearers and tipplers.

But while Baxter, in the seclusion of his parish, was painfully weighing the arguments for and against the wearing of surplices, the use of marriage rings, and the proscribed gestures and genuflections of his order, tything with scrupulous exactness the mint and anise and cummin of pulpit ceremonials, the weightier matters of the law, of freedom, justice, and truth, were claiming the attention of Pym and Hampden, Brook and Vane, in the Parliament House. The controversy between King and Commons had reached the point where it could only be decided by the dread arbitrament of battle. His somewhat equivocal position exposed him to the suspicion of the adherents of the King and Bishops. The rabble, at that period sympathizing with the party of license in morals and strictness in ceremonials, insulted and mocked him, and finally drove him from his parish. On the memorable 23d of October, 1642, he was invited to occupy a friend's pulpit at Alcester. While preaching, a low, dull, jarring roll, as of continuous thunder, sounded in his ears. It was the cannon of Edgehill—the prelude to the stern battle-piece of revolution. On the morrow, Baxter hurried to the scene of action. "I was desirous," he says, "to see the field. I found the Earl of Essex keeping the ground, and the King's army forcing them on a hill about a mile off. There were about a thousand dead bodies in the field between them." Turning from this ghostly survey, the preacher mingled with the Parliamentary army, when, finding the surgeons busy with the wounded, he very naturally sought occasion for the exercise of his own vocation as a spiritual practitioner. He attached himself to the army. So far as we can gather from his own memoirs, and the testimony of his contemporaries, he was not influenced to this step by any of the political motives which actuated the Parliamentary leaders. He was no Revolutionist. He was as blind and unquestioning in his reverence for the King's person and divine right, and as hearty in his hatred of religious toleration and civil equality, as any of his clerical brethren who officiated in a similar capacity in the ranks of Goring and Prince Rupert. He seems only to have looked upon the soldiers as a new set of parishioners, whom Providence had thrown in his way. The circumstances of his situation seem to have left him little choice in the matter. "I had," he says, "neither money nor friends. I knew not who would receive me in a place of safety, nor had I anything to satisfy them for diet and entertainment." He accepted an offer to live in the Governor's house at Coventry, and preach to the soldiers of the garrison. Here his skill in polemics was called into requisition, in an encounter with two New England Antinomians and an Anabaptist tailor, who was making more rents in the garrison's orthodoxy than he mended in their doublets and breeches. Coventry seems at this time to have been the rendezvous of a large body of clergymen, who, as Baxter says, were "for King and Parliament"—men who, in their desire for a more spiritual worship, most unwillingly found themselves classed with the sectaries whom they regarded as troublers and heretics, not to be tolerated—who thought the King was held in duresse by Papists, and that Essex and Cromwell were fighting to restore him—and who followed the Parliamentary forces to see to it that they were kept sound in faith, and free from the heresy of which the Court News Book accused them. Of doing anything to overturn the order of Church and State, or of promoting any radical change in the social and political condition of the people, they had no intention whatever. They looked at the events of the time, and upon their duties in respect to them, not as politicians or reformers, but simply as ecclesiastics and spiritual teachers, responsible to God for the religious beliefs and practices of the people, rather than for their temporal welfare and happiness. They were not the men who struck down the solemn and imposing Prelacy of England, and vindicated the divine right of men to freedom by tossing the head of an anointed tyrant from the scaffold at Westminster. It was the so-called schismatics, ranters, and levellers, the disputatious corporals and Anabaptist musketeers, the dread and abhorrence alike of Prelate and Presbyter, who, under the lead of Cromwell,

> "Ruined the great work of time,
> And cast the kingdoms old
> Into another mould."

The Commonwealth was the work of the laity—the sturdy yeomanry and God-fearing commoners of England.

The news of the fight of Naseby reaching Coventry, Baxter having friends in the Parliamentary forces, and wishing, as he says, to be assured of their safety, passed over to the stricken field, and spent a night with them. He was afflicted and confounded by the information which they gave him that the victorious army was full of hot-headed sectaries and levellers, who were against King and Church, prelacy and ritual, and who were for a free Commonwealth and freedom of religious belief and worship. He was appalled to find that the heresies of the Antinomians, Arminians, and Anabaptists, had made sadder breaches in the ranks of Cromwell than the pikes of Sir Marmaduke Longdale, or the daggers of the roysterers who followed the mad charge of Rupert. Hastening back to Coventry, he called together his clerical brethren, and told them "the sad news of the corruption of the army." After much painful consideration of the matter, it was deemed best for Baxter to enter Cromwell's army, nominally as its chaplain, but really as the special representative of orthodoxy in politics and religion, against the democratic weavers and prophesying tailors who troubled it. He joined Whalley's regiment, and followed it through many a hot skirmish and siege. Personal fear was by no means one of Baxter's characteristics, and he bore himself through all with the coolness of an old campaigner. Intent upon his single object, he sat unmoved under the hail of cannon shot from the walls of Bristol, confronted the well-plied culverins of Sherburne, charged side by side with Harrison upon Goring's musketeers at Langford, and heard the exulting thanksgiving of that grim enthusiast, when "with a loud voice he broke forth in praises of God, as one in rapture;" and marched, Bible in hand, with Cromwell himself, to the storming of Basing-House, so desperately defended by the Marquis of Winchester. In truth, these storms of outward conflict were to him of small moment. He was engaged in a sterner battle with spiritual principalities and powers, struggling with Satan himself in the guise of political leveller and Antinomian sower of heresy. No antagonist was too high and none too low for him. Distrusting Cromwell, he sought to engage him in a discussion of certain points of abstract theology, wherein his soundness seemed questionable; but the wary chief baffled off the young disputant by tedious, unanswerable discourses about free grace, which Baxter admits were not unsavory to others, although the speaker himself had little understanding of the matter. At other times, he repelled his sad-visaged chaplain with unwelcome jests, and rough, soldierly merriment—for he had "a vivacity, hilarity, and alacrity, as another man hath, when he hath taken a cup too much." Baxter says of him, complainingly, "he would not dispute with me at all." But, in the midst of such an army, he could not lack abundant opportunity for the exercise of his peculiar powers of argumentation. At Amersham, he had a sort of pitched battle with the contumacious soldiers. "When the public talking day came," says he, "I took the reading pew, and Pitchford's cornet and troopers took the gallery. There did the leader of the Chesham men begin and afterwards Pitchford's soldiers set in; and I alone disputed with them from morning until almost night; for I knew their trick, that if I had gone out first they would have prated what boasting words they listed, and made the people believe that they had baffled me, or got the best; therefore I staid it out till they first rose and went away." As usual in such cases, both parties claimed the victory. Baxter got thanks only from the King's adherents; "Pitchford's troopers and the leader of the Chesham men" retired from their hard day's work, to enjoy the countenance and favor of Cromwell, as men after his own heart, faithful to the Houses and the Word, against Kingcraft and Prelacy.

Laughed at and held at arm's length by Cromwell, shunned by Harrison and Berry and other chief officers, opposed on all points by shrewd, earnest men, as ready for polemic controversy as for battle with the King's malignants—and who set off against his theological and metaphysical distinctions their own personal experiences and spiritual exercises—he had little to encourage him in his arduous labors. Alone in such a multitude, flushed with victory and glowing with religious enthusiasm, he earnestly begged his brother ministers to come to his aid. "If the army," said he, "had only ministers enough, who could have done such little as I did, all their plot might have been broken, and King, Parliament, and Religion, might have been preserved." But no one volunteered to assist him, and the "plot" of Revolution went on.

After Worcester fight he returned to Coventry, to make his report to the ministers assembled there. He told them of his labors and trials, of the growth of heresy and levelling principles in the army, and of the evident design of its leaders to pull down Church, King, and Ministers. He assured them that the day was at hand when all who were true to King, Parliament, and Religion, should come forth to oppose these leaders, and draw away their soldiers from them. For himself, he was willing to go back to the army, and labor there until the crisis of which he spoke had arrived. "Whereupon," says he, "they all voted me to go yet longer."

Fortunately for the cause of civil and religious freedom, the great body of the ministers, who disapproved of the ultraism of the victorious army, and sympathized with the defeated King, lacked the courage and devotedness of Baxter. Had they promptly seconded his efforts, although the restoration of the King might have been impossible at that late period, the horrors of civil war must have been greatly protracted. As it was, they preferred to remain at home, and let Baxter have the benefit of their prayers and good wishes. He returned to the army with the settled purpose of causing its defection from Cromwell; but, by one of those dispensations which the latter used to call "births of Providence," he was stricken down with severe sickness. Baxter's own comments upon this passage in his life are not without interest. He says, God prevented his purposes in his last and chiefest opposition to the army; that he intended to take off or seduce from their officers the regiment with which he was connected, and then to have tried his persuasions upon the others. He says he afterwards found that his sickness was a mercy to himself, "for they were so strong and active, and I had been likely to have had small success in the attempt, and to have lost my life among them in their fury." He was right in this last conjecture; Oliver Cromwell would have had no scruples in making an example of a plotting priest; and "Pitchford's soldiers" might have been called upon to silence, with their muskets, the tough disputant who was proof against their tongues. J. G. W.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

LITERARY NOTICES.

GRAHAM'S AMERICAN MONTHLY MAGAZINE. October, 1849.

This number has a beautiful mezzotint of Effie Deans; a very handsome engraving of "Rose Carlton," bearing a waiter with wine glasses and decanters, which she did *not* hand to her gallant; a fashion plate, which we commend to the tender mercies of Mrs. Swisshelm; and other embellishments.

The contributions are good; some of the poems are excellent.

EDINBURGH REVIEW. July, 1849. Leonard Scott & Co., New York. For sale by W. Adam, Pennsylvania avenue, Washington.

This is the first number of a new volume. We would again direct attention to the terms on which this valuable Review, and the other Quarterlies republished by Leonard Scott & Co., can be had. For one Review, $3 a year; for two, $5; for three, $7; for the four, $8.

It would be difficult to obtain, on terms so moderate, an equal amount of useful matter. No intelligent person, who can afford the money, should be without these Reviews, containing as they do elaborate discussions on the great events and tendencies of the age, as well as its Literature.

This number of the Edinburgh presents the following table of contents:

Transportation As It Now Is.
Shakspeare's Critics—English and Foreign.
De Tocqueville's Reign of Louis XV.
Dennis's Etruria.
Free Trade.
Corpus Ignatianum.
Sir E. Bulwer Lytton: King Arthur.
Tyndale's Sardinia.
Austria and Hungary.
Macaulay's History of England.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

The America has arrived at Boston, bringing dates from London to September 13th, Paris 12th, Vienna 7th, Rome 6th.

Our able Berlin correspondent presents a better view of the state of things in Europe than could be gathered from the tedious details of news in our exchanges.

The fortress of Comorn, in Hungary, still holds out, its brave defenders showing what might have been done had Gorgey proved steadfast, and harmony presided over the councils of the patriot leaders.

We give all we find of interest concerning this heroic but unfortunate nation.

AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY.

THE HUNGARIAN FORTRESSES.—The latest accounts from Vienna extend to the 9th instant, inclusively. The fortress of Comorn had not capitulated. It was understood that General Klapka was inclined to surrender, but that the Magyar council of war positively refused to accept the conditions which the Austrians offered to grant, and proposed others, deemed inadmissible by the Imperial negotiators. It is rumored that Klapka has declined to coöperate in defending the place, but that the other Magyar leaders and the garrison, which is supposed to be about 20,000 or 25,000 strong, are bent on holding out. It is said, that while on the one hand portions of one garrison leave the fortress to lay down their arms, on the other fresh hands of Honveds flock in to supply their place. The truce with the fortress has been prolonged for a week. Klapka is sick, and by some is supposed to have shammed sickness to shirk the war council, where the deliberations are now conducted by two Esterhazys. The Austrian General Csorich's corps has been ordered to occupy positions around the fortress. The fortress of Peterwardein has not yet surrendered, but the officer commanding there, who is said to be a Dane, has begun to treat for a capitulation, and it is not expected that he will continue to defend the place.

Preparations are making to besiege Comorn with 60,000 men, under Nugent and Grabb. Klapka had previously stocked the fortress with fuel to last out the winter.

The conditions required by the garrison were:

"1. A complete amnesty in Hungary.

"2. The garrison to retain their arms, with permission to retire into some neighboring country.

"3. An independent Ministry for Hungary."

Haynau, on the contrary, insisted that the surrender should be unconditional.

Nugent is ever drawing closer the ring of besieging troops about Comorn, and the communication across the Danube is reëstablished.

The *Augsburg Gazette*, of the 9th, says that a body of 20,000 Magyars from Comorn, on the night of the 3d, retook the forts near Acs and Zgany. General Csorich had received orders to completely invest Comorn, but as 80,000 men would be necessary for that purpose, the aid of Russian troops would be required.

The *Prussian Staats Anzeiger*, of the 9th inst., quotes as follows from the *Prague Journal*, reappearing in Vienna on the 5th inst.: "The authentic confirmation of the news has arrived here that Kossuth, Dembinski, and Messaros, are at Wilden, under the guardianship of the Pasha. They had placed themselves under British protection, and declared their intention of emigrating to England. In consequence of this, the intervention of the British Consul has already taken place, and the delivering up of their persons has been demanded."

For the National Era.

Say to the voters of the Fourth Congressional District of Massachusetts, that the eyes of the friends of Freedom, everywhere, are upon them. J. G. Palfrey cannot be spared from the next Congress. We trust they will not subject us again to the undesirable feelings arising from "hope deferred." J. N. COLEMAN.
Chester, Illinois.

POLITICAL MOVEMENTS.

WISCONSIN.

The Milwaukie Free Democrat brings us detailed accounts of the proceedings of the Democratic and Free Democratic Conventions in Wisconsin. It seems that when resolutions were first submitted in the Hunker Convention, affirming the constitutionality and expediency of the Wilmot Proviso, 15 voted *yea*, 24 *nay*, and 23 dodged.

The Convention having taken a recess, it became evident that this vote had done mischief, some of the members feeling that they could not sustain themselves before their constituents on such a ground. The result was, a reconsideration of the resolutions, and their reference to a Committee which reported resolutions substantially like those of the union caucus in the Legislature. These were adopted, by sufferance, the great majority of the Convention not voting at all. There was no heart in the matter, but the Hunkers reluctantly conceded so much to public sentiment. They had previously nominated the following ticket:

For Governor—Nelson Dewey.
For Lieutenant Governor—Samuel W. Beall.
For Secretary of State—William A. Barstow.
For Treasurer—J. C. Fairchild.
For Attorney General—S. Park Coon.

A motion to nominate a State Superintendent of Public Instruction failed by a very close vote.

Some of the nominees, it was well understood, were totally unsound on the Wilmot Proviso question. No proposition was made for union with the Free-Soilers.

On the 7th, the Free Democratic or rather the Union Convention was held in the same place. An effort was made to procure its full endorsement of the action and nominations of the Hunker Convention, but it failed. Resolutions were adopted, to the effect that the Convention was a Union Convention, called to nominate a union ticket, and that it would proceed to nominate accordingly. The former resolution was passed by a vote of 28 to 13, the latter by a vote of 23 to 18. Eight of the eighteen who voted in the negative, afterwards united in forming the ticket, and they will support it. The rest, ten in number, withdrew, and in consultation with Mr. Beall, the Cass candidate for Lieutenant Governor, appointed a committee to question the Hunker candidates. The difference between the action of the Free Democratic or Union Convention, and that of the Hunker, is thus clearly pointed out by the *Free Democrat*:

"The resolutions of the Union Convention take ground in favor of Land Reform. The Hunker resolutions are silent on that question. The Union resolutions pledge the Free Democracy to support only Free Soil men for State offices, Congressmen, and President, and cut them off from all participation in another Baltimore Convention. The Hunker resolutions assert only what the great majority of Cass men in the Free Soil portions of the State *professed* last fall while supporting Cass, and *pledge them to nothing*. The leading members of the Cass Convention declared themselves in full fellowship with the Anti-Wilmot-Proviso Slaveholding Democrats of the South, and have expressed their willingness to support another Presidential candidate nominated by Cass men at the North, and slave-extensionists at the South."

The following ticket was nominated:

For Governor—Nelson Dewey.
For Lieutenant Governor—John Bannister, of Fond du Lac.
For Secretary of State—Benjamin Hunkins, of Waukesha.
For Treasurer—Charles M. Goodsell, of Walworth.
For Attorney General—Marshall M. Strong, of Racine.
For State Superintendent of Public Instruction—A. Constantine Barry, of Racine.

Mr. Hunkins, we learn, has since declined. Nelson Dewey, it will be observed, is on both tickets, but he too has declined to run on the Free Democratic ticket, being anxious, we suppose, to have as few votes as possible.

It is to be regretted that the true friends of Freedom in Wisconsin should have suffered themselves to be cajoled by overtures for a union, which, as it now appears, were made for the purpose of dividing and betraying them.

The Whigs at their State Convention in that State incorporated the leading doctrines of the Buffalo platform into their creed, passing very stringent resolutions in relation to slavery.

OHIO.

The truly Democratic course of John S. Breslin, representative from Seneca county in the last Legislature of Ohio, has provoked the petty wrath of some of the Hunkers of his party. Having been nominated for reëlection by a Convention of the Democracy of the county, these spiteful gentlemen held an Indignation meeting, and passed divers resolutions charging him with the grave offences, of having supported S. P. Chase for Senator, aided in the sale of the Democratic party of Ohio to Abolitionists, engaged in a bargain and sale for the purpose of reaching the Speaker's chair, conducted a newspaper for his own aggrandizement, practiced ingratitude to his early benefactors, and other wicked things.

We hope that Mr. Breslin, despite these criminal acts, will be reëlected.

Amos E. Wood, the Democratic candidate for Congress in the place of Rodolphus Dickinson, has written a very frank and manly letter in reply to certain interrogatories addressed to him. The following extract will show its tenor:

"*First.* I have no doubt that Congress possesses the constitutional power to prohibit the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and am fully of the opinion that it should exercise that power without a day of unnecessary delay. It is an evil which shocks the feelings of every correct thinker, and the fact that the people of the District have, through the corporate authorities of Washington city, petitioned for its abolition, removes every excuse for its delay. In my opinion, no Democrat can, consistently with his principles, refuse to the measure his cordial support.

"*Secondly.* I believe Congress has power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and if elected will give any just and practicable bill for that purpose my support.

"*Thirdly.* It is highly probable that slavery cannot obtain a *legal* existence in the Territories of New Mexico and California, without a law of Congress permitting its introduction. But the fact that some slaves have already been carried there, in defiance or absence of law, taken in connection with the danger to be apprehended from Executive influence, and the appointment of slaveholders as judges, many of whom hold that slavery can legally exist anywhere in the absence of prohibitory statutes against it, induces me to favor the prohibition of that institution. If elected, I shall, therefore, as I have heretofore on all occasions stated, exert my influence in favor of attaching a formal prohibition of slavery to any and every bill for the organization of those Territories."

The Democrats and Free Democrats of Lucas and Henry counties, Ohio, held their respective Conventions in Providence, on the 6th September. Committees of conference were appointed, a plan of union was agreed to by the Convention, proceedings in common then took place, and one ticket was nominated. The following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"*Resolved*, That no civil corporations should be created by the Legislature, but by general corporation laws, and with the following reservations and restrictions: the right of examination by a committee of the Legislature; the right of repeal in the Legislature; individual liability of stockholders; the right of any man or body of men to act under its provisions by giving the requisite security.

"*Resolved*, That we believe human slavery to be a great moral, social, and political evil; that Congress, in the opinion of this Convention, ought to use all its constitutional power to prevent its further increase; and that we recognise the power of Congress to prohibit slavery in all places under its exclusive jurisdiction.

"*Resolved*, That a Convention should be called, in a manner prescribed by the Constitution, to frame a new Constitution for the State of Ohio, subject to the approval of the people.

"*Resolved*, That we rejoice in the unanimity of sentiment between the two branches of the Democracy of Lucas county.

"*Resolved*, That Zachary Taylor has proven untrue to his repeated pledges to be the President of the people, and not of a party; that in suffering himself to be controlled by an ultra party, and, as we believe, a corrupt Cabinet, he has proven himself unworthy of the confidence of the American People; and that we regret that the Hero of Buena Vista should have suffered such men to so control him as to induce him to violate his pledges, and tarnish his fame and character.

"*Resolved*, That we are in favor of the abolition of all restrictions upon commerce by Tariff regulations."

The Free Democrats of Summit county met in Convention, passed resolutions embracing the principles of the Buffalo platform, and of constitutional reform in Ohio, nominated a full ticket, and adjourned.

Subsequently, the Democrats assembled in Convention, took up the resolution of the Free Democracy, emphatically endorsed them, and agreed to sustain its nomination, as follows:

"*Resolved*, That inasmuch as the nominations already made by the Whig party on the one hand, and the Free Democracy on the other, will produce an issue in Summit county to be decided on principle, and inasmuch as the last-named party have staked their hopes of success upon the maintenance of principles which are of vital interest to the Commonwealth, we deem it advisable to abstain from the nomination of a distinct ticket on the part of the old Democracy, and to cast our votes for the nominees of Free Democracy, who stand pledged to carry out some of the most prominent measures of our party.

"*Resolved*, That in view of the premises we recommend to the Democrats of Summit county to give to the entire ticket nominated by the Free Democracy their hearty and unanimous support, believing that by so doing they will achieve a triumph of principle which will redound to the lasting benefit of themselves and their posterity."

In Erie county, the Free Democrats and the Democrats held their County Conventions on the 18th September at Milan. A correspondence took place, the Democratic Convention adjourned, to meet in union with the other Convention, which then proceeded to pass resolutions similar to those which signalized the union of the two parties in Tuscarawas and Carroll, noticed by us two weeks since. They agreed also upon one ticket, and appointed a Central Committee, under the style of Free Democratic Central Committee.

Lemon Fouth having been nominated by the Free Democracy of Morgan and Washington counties as its candidate for State Senator, the Democrats of the same counties assembled in Convention, and adopted the nomination. Mr. Fouth was formerly a Whig. He is charged by the Whigs with having played a double game—giving contradictory pledges to Whigs and Democrats. We hope the matter will be satisfactorily explained.

The Democratic party in many parts of the State shows a strong disposition to coalesce with the Free Democracy on the basis of the Buffalo platform. The union, so far as it has taken place, has been honorable to both parties.

The Whigs, unwilling to be left behind, are putting together as many of the planks of the said platform as they can, without damage to their own timber. For example, at their Convention in Huron county they affirmed the following principles:

"1. The prohibition, by act of Congress, of slavery and the slave trade throughout the Territories of the Union.

"2. The abolition by Congress of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia.

"3. A limitation of the Executive Veto, and a thorough reform of the Federal patronage.

"4. A retrenchment of all unnecessary expenses in the Government, including a reform in the salaries, outfits and infits of diplomatic agents, and an entire correction of Congressional abuses, particularly by the introduction of a lower rate and direct routes, in the payment of mileage to members.

"5. *The enactment of laws, by which the public lands shall hereafter be sold, in limited quantities*, at small prices, *to actual settlers only*.

"6. A system of national revenues adequate to the economical administration of the Government, and the gradual extinction of the public debt, which shall discriminate by specific duties in favor of American industry; and, incidental to this, the prompt repeal of the ad valorem rates imposed by the Tariff of 1846.

"7. A sound system of national finances, which, without the restoration of a United States Bank, shall constitute, for the use of the people, a safe and convenient method of exchange, circulation, and deposite, to all parts of the Union; and, incidental to this, the immediate repeal of the Sub-Treasury laws, with their anti-democratic facilities of gold and silver for the office-holder, and rags for the people.

"8. The exercise of the constitutional power of Congress for the improvement of our highways, harbors, and water courses, and the construction of such works of internal improvement as are national in their character, and will conduce to the general prosperity of the country.

"9. A system of Cheap Postage, which shall reduce the rates on letters and publications carried through the mails, to the lowest point which will meet the expenses of the Post Office Department, believing that Congress ought not to impose a tax on the means of intelligence in the country, by making that Department a source of revenue; and we further recommend that the law making newspapers and periodicals postage free for a distance of thirty miles from their place of publication, he revived.

"10. A peace policy in the Government, enforcing strict neutrality in all our foreign relations."

NEW YORK.

The Whigs of New York at their State Convention nominated the following ticket:

For Judge of the Court of Appeals—Joshua A. Spencer.
For Comptroller—Washington Hunt.
For Secretary of State—Christopher Morgan.
For State Treasurer—Alvah Hunt.
For Attorney General—Samuel Stevens.
For Canal Commissioner—Nelson J. Beach.
For State Engineer—Hez. C. Seymour.
For Prison Inspector—Ben. Squire.

Resolutions were unanimously passed, in favor of the principle of protection, and of specific duties, in favor of securing homes to the landless on the public domain, in support of General Taylor, in praise of Ex-Governor Seward, and the Governor and Lieutenant Governor of New York: and the following on the slavery question head the series:

"*Resolved*, That the Federal Constitution was formed and adopted expressly to 'secure the blessings of LIBERTY' to the People of the United States and their posterity, and that no power was given therein to extend the curse of slavery; wherefore we maintain that Congress has the right and is in duty bound to abolish slavery wherever it exists in the Territories of the Union, and plainly prohibit its establishment in any portion of those Territories at any time hereafter.

"*Resolved*, That recognising the restriction of slavery within its present limits as one of the cardinal principles of our political faith, we pledge ourselves to our fellow-citizens and the country to exercise to the utmost all the power we may possess to prevent the extension of slavery over a single foot of free soil."

The first resolution pledges the Whig party of New York State in support of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. Not long since the *Republic* announced that the Whig party was about to withdraw the slavery issue from politics!

The Democrats and Free Democrats in their counties are endeavoring to perfect the union formed at Utica. The tone of the journals of the latter on the slavery question is as decided as ever. They all predict the best results for the cause of Freedom from the action of the reunited party. The following from the *Buffalo Republic* is but a moderate specimen of the language held by them generally:

"To the great principle of limiting and discouraging slavery, we are devoted heart and soul, because we believe it to be a moral, social, and political evil, cursing the States which tolerate it, inhuman and unjust in itself, and disturbing the fraternal feeling which ought to exist between the different members of the Confederacy. If we supposed for a moment that the voice of the united Democracy of New York would not be given, now and hereafter, against its extension, we would not only not desire association with them, but would take the earliest opportunity to sever our connection with the party.

"But we have no fears of such a result, and are entirely content, whatever may be the declarations of those whom pride of opinion constrains to take a different view of the matter, to abide the issue of the consolidation of the party."

In Lockport, N. Y., in pursuance of a call issued by the two Democratic Committees, the Hunkers and Barnburners met in a Union Convention, to determine the principles on which they would coöperate. A joint committee being appointed, reported the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That Slavery is a moral, social, and political evil. For its introduction into the United States, our Government is not responsible; and the Federal Government should be relieved from responsibility for its existence wherever it possesses the constitutional power to legislate on the subject.

Resolved, That Congress has the power over Slavery in the District of Columbia.

Resolved, That Congress has not the power over Slavery in the States.

Resolved, That we are opposed to the extension of slavery into the free territory of the United States.

Resolved, That the Federal Government possesses the legislative power over slavery in the Territories, and ought to exercise it so as to prevent the existence of slavery there.

Whereas an amendment was introduced into the resolution adopted at the Syracuse Convention, proposing a Union ticket, requiring that the nominees of the Utica Convention should be well known and acknowledged Democrats; which amendment was intended, as avowed at the time, to proscribe a large class of the Free Democracy of this and other States, several of whom were expressly named in debate; and whereas this construction of the resolution has been given and approved by several prominent newspapers, and has not anywhere, to our knowledge, been disavowed; therefore,

Resolved, That we regard the union of the two sections of the Democratic party as having been intended by its true friends to be formed upon principles of the most perfect equality, as well in regard to the two sections of the party as to the individuals of which they have been severally composed; and we consider those from the Whig and Liberty parties who acted with the Free Democracy last fall as entitled to all the rights of political brethren; and we distinctly avow our determination to discountenance and oppose every attempt to proscribe them.

A motion was made to approve the Utica ticket, but a general desire being expressed to hear first from the candidates, it was withdrawn.

Another resolution introduced, against making the slavery question a political test, was laid upon the table.

In Onondaga county, each section held a county Convention at the same time and place, and Committees were appointed to arrange a joint ticket. The first report designated a Hunker as the candidate for Senator, and two Barnburners for county officers, but the Radical Democratic Convention would not agree to it. Mr. E. L. Soulé bluntly said, "He never could vote for a Senator who would use his influence to return *that man* (D. S. Dickinson) to the United States Senate, who has for four years so grossly misrepresented the State upon the Slavery Question." A new ticket was at last agreed upon, on which a Radical Democrat was nominated for the State Senate.

In Cortland, the two sections being unable to agree, each nominated its own ticket.

At a Convention of the Free Democracy of Assembly District No. 1 of the county of Madison, held at Eaton, on the 22d instant, for the purpose of nominating a Delegate to the Judicial Convention to be held at Greene, on the 27th, Jeremiah Wilber was called to the Chair, and G. R. Waldron appointed Secretary.

James W. Nye was elected Delegate.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the Free Democracy of Madison county continue to have the most unwavering confidence in the principles asserted in the Buffalo platform; and, having sustained them through the adverse circumstances of 1848, we can never abandon them with honor.

Resolved, That, to entitle a candidate for office to the support of the Free Democracy of the county of Madison, the evidence must be conclusive that he is in favor of the Ordinance of 1787, and its *immediate application* to the Territories of the United States.

Resolved, That the County Corresponding Committee be requested to call a Mass County Convention at the same time they call the delegated Convention, for the purpose of *considering* the propriety of supporting the Union ticket recently nominated by the Syracuse and Utica State Conventions.

PENNSYLVANIA.

The parties are arraying their forces for the conflict in October. As yet, the Free-Soilers have not taken the field. The guarded expression of opinion against Slavery by the Democratic State Convention at Pittsburg, seems to satisfy the friends of the Wilmot Proviso, while it is rather distasteful to the Hunkers. Benjamin Hill, a leading Democrat of Norristown, writes a long communication for the Norristown Register, and strongly argues out several bold Anti-Slavery positions.

"We ask," he says, "for no more than Southern statesmen have held to be just coeval with the existence of our Government. But one thing we do ask. It is this: That Northern statesmen should be as true to their constituents, and possess the same firmness as Southern statesmen.

"Mr. Calhoun admitted the right of Congress to legislate upon this subject so far as relates to Territories when a Cabinet officer under President Monroe, which must be admitted as good Southern authority, upon the constitutional part of this great question.

"They may tell us of human codes that allow them to traffic in human blood. I will tell them that there is a law above all the enactments of human codes, the same throughout the world—it is the law written by the finger of God on the heart of man, which teaches us our whole duty. I cannot imagine that the South can hold themselves guiltless in holding man as the property of man, even leaving their own conscience to be the judge. As I have said before, I take no issue with them upon the subject of Abolition. I leave the expedient for abler heads to devise. But in the name of our country, let no man be deprived of his liberty upon soil now free, except for crime."

The *North American*, a leading organ of the Whig Party in Pennsylvania, has commenced the discussion of the subject of Slavery as an issue in the coming election. It opens a long and severe article against the pro-slaverysim of the Democratic Party, with the following statement:

"Connected with the pending struggle between the two great parties of this State, is a question in which the people of Pennsylvania have ever exhibited a deep and abiding interest—an interest which has been greatly augmented by the Territorial acquisitions resulting from the Mexican war. That question is, whether human slavery shall be extended, or whether its limitation within the United States shall be established now and forever."

On this question, it assumes that the Whigs are all right, and have always been so, while the Democrats are all wrong, and have always been wrong. It contrasts the resolution of the State Democratic Convention with the creed of the Whigs, as follows:

LOCOFOCO CREED.	WHIG CREED.
Resolved, That the Democratic Party adheres now, as it ever has done, to the Constitution of the country. Its letter and spirit they will neither weaken nor destroy; and they re-declare that Slavery is a domestic local institution of the South, subject to State law alone, and with which the General Government has nothing to do. Wherever the State law extends its jurisdiction, the local institution can continue to exist. *Esteeming it a violation of State rights to carry it beyond State limits*, we deny the power of any citizen to extend the area of bondage beyond its present dominion—nor do we consider it a part of the compromise of the Constitution, that Slavery should forever travel with the advancing column of our Territorial progress.	*Resolved*, That in the language of Governor William F. Johnson, we view Slavery as an infraction of human rights—opposed to the enlightened spirit of our free institutions—destructive of equality of power in the General Government, by enlarging, where it exists, the constitutional representation—possessing an influence against Northern and Western policy and interests, by promoting a system of laws destructive of domestic industry, and vitally affecting free labor—retarding the growth of population and improvement, by the appropriation of large tracts of land for the benefit of the few, to the injury of the many—as in open defiance of the spirit of the age, the march of rational truth, and the enlightened policy of mankind—and while in good faith we would maintain the compromises of the Constitution, the further extension of the system should be steadily and firmly resisted.

The Locofoco resolution is a simple reiteration of the Baltimore platform, and a cowardly concession of the whole question.

How different is the resolution passed by the Convention which assembled at Harrisburg. Every sentiment and purpose are clearly disclosed, and the question is met boldly by the declaration, that the extension of Slavery should be steadily and firmly resisted. This is, then, the posture of the two parties, and the time is now at hand, when the people of Pennsylvania will be called upon to record their solemn sentiments, either in favor of extending Slavery over California and New Mexico—for that is the practical test—by supporting the Locofoco candidate, or against it, by sustaining those who have been nominated as the friends of the National and State Administrations.

We commend the position and language of the *North American*, which enjoys so much of the confidence of the Administration, to its Whig brethren in the South, who are holding up the Whig party of the North as far less Anti-Slavery than the Democratic party. One thing is certain, the *North American* editors have said enough against slavery to make them fit subjects of Lynch Law in Richmond and Charleston, and we doubt not some of their own brethren in those places would he nothing loath to inflict it.

John A. Gamble, the Democratic nominee for Canal Commissioner, in reply to inquiries propounded to him by a committee of a Free Democratic meeting, held at Tioga, on the 3d of September, thus defines his position:

"To the first question, namely, 'What are your views in relation to the constitutional powers of Congress to prohibit Slavery in the Territories belonging to the United States?' I answer, that in my humble judgment, Congress possesses such constitutional power.

"To the second question, namely, 'If you believe Congress possesses the requisite authority for that purpose, are you in favor of the passage of an act extending to all such Territories the principle of the Ordinance of 1787?' I answer, that I am in favor of the passage of an act, or the adoption of any other constitutional measure, deemed necessary, in order to prohibit the further extension of human slavery."

John W. Guernsey, the Democratic candidate for Senator, says:

"I have no hesitation in expressing to you, what I had supposed was well known by all my political friends: That I believe Congress does *possess the constitutional power to prohibit Slavery in Territories* belonging to the United States, and that I am in favor of so extending that power as *to prohibit the extension of Slavery*."

MICHIGAN.

The Locofocos in this State have had a warm time of it in selecting a candidate for Governor; but Mr. Cass's friends have triumphed, even against popular sentiment, which leaned strongly toward Mr. Robert McClelland. At first, the Cass men were in the minority, and shuffled through six informal ballots, without obtaining any advantage, though every manœuvre was resorted to. Finding that on the sixth ballot McClelland received 68, Farnsworth 49, and Barry 7 votes, they demanded a formal *viva voce* vote, which was granted. This was what they wanted; and Farnsworth being dropped instantly, the vote stood—Barry 65, and McClelland 59, which secured the former's nomination. This may be denominated a triumph of the old Hunkers; and it greatly increases the chances of the election of the Hon. Flavius Littlejohn, the Whig candidate, who will, in all probability, gather about him, beside the entire mass of the Whigs, a considerable body of the Free-Soilers, to whom the nomination of Mr. Barry must, under the circumstances, be very distasteful. Mr. L.'s principles are well known throughout the State; for, during the past seven years, he has occupied a prominent position in its politics, and has been noted for his steady adherence to his expressed principles.—*Phila. North American.*

This is infinitely amusing. Mr. LITTLEJOHN was a leading member of the Democratic party till the last Presidential election, when he rejected the Cass nomination, and became a prominent advocate of Martin Van Buren. Since then he has been identified with the Free Democracy, and was selected recently as its candidate for the office of Governor. *After this*, he was also nominated by the Whigs for the same office. The *North American* speaks of him as the Whig candidate, and really thinks he will be supported by "a considerable body of Free-Soilers!" Philadelphians who depend on the daily press of their city for information, must be very enlightened on the subject of politics.

The *New York Tribune*, which always breaks out in lamentations over the depravity of politicians when a coalition takes place between Free-Soilers and Democrats, is full of rejoicing over this coalition between Free-Soilers and Whigs, seeing in it indubitable evidence of political regeneration!

For the National Era.

DR. BAILEY: I would like to ask your correspondent, W. G. K., what objection he would have to a "Free" Synod of Indiana, or any other State or city, embracing substantially the doctrines of the Free Synod of Cincinnati? Or what objection could he have to a few Free Presbyteries elsewhere than around Cincinnati, out of which to form Free Synods? I am opposed to a "Western" or Eastern *General* Synod, or Northern or Southern, either. But I am in favor of all anti-slavery Presbyterians laboring with all their might in their own respective localities to form or bring about Free Presbyteries out of which to form Free Synods, out of which to form a Free General Synod or Assembly. Of this General Synod I certainly would expect the Free Synod of Cincinnati to be a component part. I can tell W. G. K. that there are a multitude of Presbyterians scattered throughout the length and breadth of the land, who sympathize strongly with the Free Synod of Cincinnati, but who think it the better plan to strive for the same state of things at home, if possible; and until this hope is out off, all his hair-splitting about "remaining with the flesh-pots," and "merging our individuality into an organization," will be in vain. Nevertheless, let all speak. W. M. A.

Extract of a letter, dated Cleveland, Sept. 13, 1849

The Free Democracy of Cuyahoga county are expecting and preparing for a sharp contest at our election next month (October) with the old Hunker parties. The Whigs have, until last fall, been in the ascendency. They never before knew what defeat was, till the Free-Soilers took the ground. And now the Democrats, their long and tried enemy, taking advantage of their defeat, are flushed with the hope of carrying the county, in despite of the Free-Soilers. But I think they, too, will find themselves mistaken. Edward Wade, Esq., a Liberty man of long standing, our candidate for the Senate; Thomas Bolton, Esq., formerly a Democrat, for our Representative; and —— Paine, Esq., Free Soil Whig, candidate for Prosecuting Attorney—all good, true, and talented—are in the field stumping it. *Old Cuyahoga must, she will take the lead in the great contest for human rights now so gloriously going forward on the Western Reserve.* Yours truly.

DOMESTIC MARKETS.

BALTIMORE, *October* 1, 1849.

Beef Cattle.—Sales at prices ranging from $2.25 to $3 per 100 pounds on the hoof, being equal to $4.50 to $5.50 net, and averaging $2.62 gross. The prices paid show a decline.

Hogs.—Firm at $5 per hundred pounds.

Flour.—Sales of City Mills at $5.25. A sale today of 500 barrels Howard Street at $5.12½.

Grain.—Wheat—no change, and supply small. Corn—sales of white at 61 a 62 cents, and yellow at 62 a 63 cents. Oats at 30 a 32 cents.

NEW YORK, *Oct.* 1, 1849.

Flour steady, but not active. Sales of common Michigan at $4.81 a $5, and $5.12½ to $5.31 for Western and Genesee; Southern at $5.50. Corn meal, $3.18. Rye flour, $3.06¼. Wheat, steady; red at 102 a 107 cents, and Genesee, 120 cents. Corn at 60 cents for mixed, and 60 a 62 cents for yellow. Oats, 38 a 40 cents. Rye, 58 cents.

PHILADELPHIA, *Oct.* 1, 1849.

Flour steady; Pennsylvania brands at $5.12½ for fresh ground. Corn meal, $3.12½. Rye flour, $3.06¼. Red wheat at 103 a 106 cents; white do. 110 a 114 cents. Corn firm; yellow at 65 and 66 cents. Oats, 31 a 32 cents. Rye, 59 cents.

AGRICULTURAL WAREHOUSE.

PARKER & WHITE, No. 10 Gerrish Block, Blackstone street, Boston, Massachusetts, manufacturers and dealers in Ploughs, Straw Cutters, Corn Shellers, Corn and Cob Crushers, Portable Grist Mills, Hand Corn Mills, Ox Yokes, Shovels, Hoes, Axes, Handles for all kinds of implements, Winnowing Mills, &c.

P. & W. also raise and import the best varieties of Fruit and Ornamental Trees and Garden and Field Seeds. All letters of inquiry or orders will receive immediate attention.
Oct. 4.

BOSTON PATENT AGENCY.

PARKER & WHITE, No. 10 Gerrish Block, Blackstone street Boston, are engaged in the purchase and sale of valuable Patent Machinery, with the rights for using the same. Inventors having useful articles which they would like to dispose of in New England are invited to forward drawings or models.

A large number of valuable Massachusetts patent Machines and Tools for sale at this establishment.

Letters of inquiry (post paid) will receive immediate attention. Oct. 4.

LITTELL'S LIVING AGE.

CONTENTS OF No. 282.—Price, twelve and a half cents.

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2. New Light on the Story of Lady Grange.—*Ib.*
3. The Modern Vassal, Chap. 1.—*John Wilmer.*
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WASHINGTON, *December* 27, 1845.

Of all the Periodical Journals devoted to literature and science, which abound in Europe and in this country, this has appeared to me to be the most useful. It contains indeed the exposition only of the current literature of the English language; but this, by its immense extent and comprehension, includes a portraiture of the human mind in the utmost expansion of the present age.
J. Q. ADAMS.

THE NATIONAL ERA.

For the National Era.

EDUCATION.—No. 1.

In discussing the important subject of education, we do not intend limiting ourselves to any fixed rules; but, taking a wide range, purpose viewing it in its most comprehensive signification.

We hope, after glancing at the present condition of society, to demonstrate clearly to our readers a few important propositions.

First. The moral and social evils existing in society depend to a great extent upon a *wrong* system of education.

Second. Our present system of education is wrong, because it is not in harmony with nature—it does not rightly develop the physical, intellectual, and moral nature of man.

Third. A *right* system of education will do this—consequently, will reform and renovate the world.

There is no subject so worthy the attention of an intelligent community as that of education. There is no subject that has occupied so large a share of the interest of the Learned and the Philanthropist of all enlightened nations; and yet there is no one so little understood by all. It is a melancholy truth, that the moral and social progress of man has never been in the same ratio with his advancement in the arts and sciences. Human ingenuity and invention have been racked in bringing these to perfection; and—look at the glorious results!

The canvass and the marble speak to us in all the touching passions of humanity, until we almost believe that the artists were possessed of Promethean power. Our poets charm us with their harmonious versification and exalted sentiments, while an angel might listen to the entrancing notes of a Laborde.

The land is full of labor-saving machines, of most wonderful power, that hourly perform the work of thousands, and they are daily increasing. Railroads radiate to every point of the compass, "making the solitary places glad." Steamboats, with their untiring wheels, plough deep into the bosom of all our navigable streams, and, ere long, the whole globe will be traversed by steamboats and steam engines, connecting land and sea, to its remotest corners.

Science, eagle-like, has soared above the clouds, and seized the lightning by its flaming tongue, compelling it to become a machine of *thought* between man and man. Wonderful!—to compel that fierce power to utter friendly words, that is born of the warring elements, that goes with a leap and a shout on its mission of destruction and death, tearing the gnarled oak as if it were a toy, and rending the bosom of the everlasting hills!

But, while science has done so much—has forced the clouds, winds, waves, and all the elements of nature, to do its bidding—*why* has our social and moral advancement been so slow? Is the fault in nature, rather, in nature's God? Has he imperfectly developed man's moral powers? Nay! He has imparted to them the same elements of progress with his intellectual, and vastly higher. Where, then, shall we look for the cause of this wrong, but to our leaders, who say to the mass of mankind, "You are incapable of thinking for yourselves; pin your faith on our sleeves." While the greater part of these have remained inert—have covered themselves with the learned dust of centuries, and rested, like a mighty incubus, upon human progress—they have perverted their veneration by *Deifying* man—by embracing principles opposed to advancement, as incontrovertible truths—many of which were adopted for the government of a barbarous people—and adhering to them, with a spirit as indomitable as if there were no *law of progress* written all over God's works, on each atom of our globe, and in burning, shining characters on the vast systems of worlds filling immensity, and how much more distinctly on mind, for which all matter was created.

We grieve over this conservatism; its tendency is to barbarism, its spirit is opposed to an enlightened Christianity. But we can no longer marvel that our social and moral progress has been so slow, when there has been so strong an inclination among our leaders to go back, instead of forward, for light—to pore over musty tomes, and perplex themselves with indecipherable hieroglyphics, when the fair book of Nature lay spread out before them.

But while the great moral leaders have been thus engaged, and in disputings about the letter of the law, the people have been catching a portion of its spirit, and are no longer willing to be kept in bondage to old dogmas. PROGRESS! is their watchword. Progress is Nature's eternal law; and all her forests, mountains, and seas, respond to them in one universal anthem.

Thus we find that the present state of society is highly reactionary, and is becoming more and more so. We should contemplate its chaotic condition with sorrow, did we not see a new and more beautiful creation evolving from the confusion—did we not behold that star that a few years since appeared in the east, and that, like the herald of a Saviour, has attracted the attention of the *wise*, shining with undimming brightness upon the night of metaphysical doubt and speculation, in which the minds of many of the wise and good of past ages wandered without a guide, and were lost in the uncertain lights that flickered around them. This star is attended with brilliant satellites, which, like it, receive all their light from the great Spiritual Sun, the centre of the Moral System.

We said that society is in a highly reactionary condition. It grasps with one hand the most noble and elevating truths, and retains with the other the prejudices and customs of a darker age. There is now existing in the community two powerfully antagonistic principles—the *love* principle and the *force* principle. The former says, "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink;" the latter, "Away with him; kill him; crucify him." The "one is of the earth, earthy;" the other "is the Lord from heaven." The one belongs exclusively to an enlightened Christian people; the other to a barbarous, savage people. Is it not so? And yet the most powerful and convincing arguments of enlightened nations are still given at the cannon's mouth. Christian and barbarous nations still revenge their injuries in the same manner—by an appeal to arms; the only difference consisting in the manner of attack and the form of the weapon. The savage rushes upon the savage with horrific yells, sending the poisoned darts thickly upon the unprotected body; each warrior killing his single man with one fly of his arrow. The Christian, arrayed in full armor, marches on his message of death to the measure of celestial music; and, while its holy strains are filling the air, sends his accursed bombshells into the very heart of ancient and glorious cities—the archives of the earth—destroying their proudest monuments of art and most sacred relics of antiquity, and—O, my God!—in a moment of time, blotting thousands of thy creatures from existence forever—worse than all, casting a moral blight and darkness over the earth, that the light of an eternity cannot dissipate.

Still, enlightened Christian, like barbarous nations, yield their highest honors to their warriors, raising them to the most exalted positions in Government, to wield all the political and moral power of a community; consequently adding increased glory and dignity to the profession of arms, thereby making a necessity of war—while they leave their veteran statesmen, who for half centuries have toiled unceasingly for the honor and good of their country, to wear their laurel wreaths upon their tombs.

The *love* principle is stronger than the *force* principle, and, oh! how sublime, how beautiful in its strength! It is high as Heaven!—who can attain it?—deep as the unfathomable ocean!—who can reach it!—vast as eternity!—who embrace it?—and yet, an infant in its type, it is so humble. We said that the *love* principle is more powerful than the *force* principle; but there is so little of the former in the world, that the latter triumphs—consequently, that "might makes right," has become an almost universal maxim. No marvel, then, that the moral power of society is weakened, instead of being made strong, by numbers—no marvel, when each would rob the other of his right, that with an increase of numbers there should be an increase of crime, and that this vast accumulation should constantly ferment, and throw out from its agitated bosom fierce assassins and bloody rioters—no marvel that the mob should rule in place of law, while the force principle triumphs—while it is educated into the mind of the little infant, from the moment that its plastic nature is capable of thought.

It is the province of education to harmonize these antagonistic principles, to make force subservient to love, by directing the belligerent nature of man against the errors and vices of society, instead of individual members and nations.

How much better were it—how much more consistent—for enlightened Christian nations to meet their enemies with the weapons of intellectual argument. Oh! how infinitely better were it for society, could her vanquished enemies rise unscathed from the field of conflict, only stripped of the false armor with which they arrayed themselves for the combat, than to listen to the groans of men cut off in the midst of their days; and behold "lean and hungry dogs" prowl about the dead bodies of fathers! husbands! and sons! licking from the drunken earth their precious blood; while its loathing bosom sends forth a deadly miasma, filling the very air of heaven with the foulness of the play.

We have said, and shall endeavor to demonstrate clearly, that the social and moral evils of society grow out of a wrong system of education—out of an incomplete development of man's physical, intellectual, and moral nature. We must look to the cause of the evil for its remedy—to a right system of education to correct the evils of the wrong.

We often hear it said, "The world is full of errors, and needs reforming, but where can we begin?"

Nature teaches us that the tender sapling can be easily trained into a perfect tree; while the gnarled oak, that lifts its giant arms on high, and strikes its roots deep into the heart of the earth, must wither in its proud deformity, unless blasted, at once, by the lightnings of Heaven. Deeply-rooted prejudices and veteran habits cannot be easily overcome; but the old generation is fast passing away, another is filling its place with minds highly impressible, and capable of appreciating and practicing the most exalted virtues. To them God seems to point in his providence, and say, "There is a new race—begin once more."

The call is particularly to parents and teachers. They are to rekindle, in man, the bright spark which emanated from the Deity, but which has become almost extinguished in the rubbish of the world. They are to mould the mind for time!—to fashion it for eternity!

THE SATURDAY VISITER ON FASHION PLATES.

Mrs. Swisshelm shows no mercy to the Fashion Plates of our monthlies. She says:

"Our fashion mongers might give us any kind of a bundle of drapery that pleased their fancy, and the effect would be comparatively harmless, if they left any room to suppose there might be a woman inside. Or if they would give us the shape of a garment hung on a clothes horse, and leave the idea that it might be put on a woman, it would simply be a fashion for clothes; but it is not the form of clothing which they pretend to regulate, but the shape of the people. If people were made of tallow and spermaceti—could be thrown into a kettle, melted and remoulded like broken candles, these fashion-makers could scarcely take more liberties with their formation.

"In the front of a Magazine you will likely find a portrait of a woman as *God* made her; that is, given simply as a fancy sketch; over a few leaves you will find the reality of life—woman as *fashion* has made her; and very much she resembles the earth in the beginning, 'without form and void,' giving one the idea the artist has taken some days to work before his production can be called 'finished.'

"Now, if these fashion-monsters are anybody's ideal of womanhood, why not make the naked pictures and statuary—the fancy sketches—in the same shape? Or why not draw the fashion plates to resemble women? Why not give us fashions that look as if they could be worn by a healthy woman, with a perfectly developed form?

"The idea of dressing the 'Greek Slave' has been very much ridiculed by the lovers of art. But the Greek Slave might be converted into a public benefactor by being dressed, and exhibited all over the country—by having all the new fashions put on her first—made to fit her, and then sitting or standing, and giving her portrait for our fashion plates. Modists could not squeeze her marble sides into the shape of a funnel or a jug; and if our fashion plates were taken from her, women would not imagine *this* the only genteel shape.

"We are not jesting—not exaggerating—the form of most of our fashion plates positively remind us of nothing so much as a funnel or a jug. Artists say there is no straight line about a human form; but in a face view of one of these figures, the lines from under the arms down to the waist—and that is the entire distance from the armpit to the hip—is as straight as a rule could make it—an inclined plane, a bevel, giving the idea of the side of a funnel. There is no curve such as nature makes, such as health and grace require. How artists—who ought to have an eye for the beautiful—can be hired to commit these outrages on the Graces, is more than we can tell. The amount of disease and death that have been caused by imitating that straight line, by pressing in the sides below the ribs, to form the funnel outline, is far past the cholera statistics."

WOMEN IN PANTALOONS.

Mrs. Swisshelm, having heard that Mrs. F. Kemble Butler sometimes appeared in men's clothing, thus discourses:

There is something too revolting in the idea to talk seriously about it. We should think one might almost as well act model artist as appear in pantaloons. They are an ugly, ungraceful article of dress, for anybody; and our feelings would have to change, if we would not prefer imprisonment in a penitentiary to wearing them. Mrs. Butler's feelings were moulded on the stage, else no idea of convenience could make her endure the disagreeable appearance of such costume.

But we cannot still believe she dresses really like a man. If we did, we should think very little of her. Most likely, her rambling, fishing, exercise costume, so much talked about, is some fanciful imitation of boys' surtouts—something like the short dresses and drawers worn by misses. Mrs. Butler certainly has too much sense—too much taste—to appear in a straight coat and pantaloons. Our long, wide skirts are, indeed, a great impediment in rural exercises. We have often felt this in walking through wet grass, getting over fences, and clambering round rocks. A short dress, and some substitute for pantaloons, would be a great convenience in such excursions, provided the costume were sufficiently marked and distinguished from men's apparel. It would be too humiliating to be met and mistaken for a man. We should a great deal rather be arrested as a sheep thief. We shall use all our influence to preserve man's right to his pantaloons inviolate. They ought to be his, and his only, for they are too ugly for anybody else to wear.

But the *best* distinction between the sexes is the beard. Why do not all men wear their beard, or some part of it? A smoothly shaved or beardless man meets our ideas of manhood about as well as a square-shouldered, shingle-shaped woman meets our notions of womanhood. There is very little difference between the mental formation of man and woman, still there is a difference; but the physical structure is another matter. Nature has made the lines of difference very marked and strong, and the more perfect the development of either, the greater the dissimilarity. A Venus with the muscle of a Hercules would be a fright. Art should not interfere with Nature's arrangements. Let men look like themselves, and women look like women. Let men keep their distinct apparel, their strength, and their ugliness, in welcome. Nobody wants either, unless, indeed, Mrs. Butler has taken a fancy to their clothes, and if she has, she should be court martialled, and deprived of her woman's commission.

SLAVE CASE AT THE WEST.

We learn from the *Hillsborough* (Ohio) *Gazette*, that a man by the name of Cogzell, from Memphis, undertook to carry off a negro woman, in Clermont county, Ohio, under the following circumstances: His claim to her services as a slave rested on a paper purporting to be a bill of sale from a former owner in Memphis, not sufficiently authenticated. This paper certified that he had bought said slave for $350; that she was a slave for life, was sound of body and mind, &c., which transaction took place in April last. This woman was found at the house Mr. James Sloane, near Mourertown, in Hamilton county, was seized by these persons, in the house of Mr. Sloane, and dragged out some distance toward the road, with the intention, as was believed, of transporting her out of the State, as a slave. Before they got to the road, however, they were met by Mr. Sloane, and told they must not remove Mary from his premises without first establishing their claim.

While thus engaged, a warrant from Esquire Long was obtained, upon the oath of H. P. Sloane, and the parties were arrested upon a charge of seizing a free black person named Mary Elizabeth Monroe, keeping her in restraint and confinement, with intention to transport her out of the State of Ohio. They were brought to Hillsborough. Upon examining and comparing the testimony, it was found that Mary was the slave of Cogzell, purchased, as stated in the bill of sale, in April last; that he (her master) sent her with a lady, Mrs. Philpot, who was in ill health, to Ohio, on a visit to her brother, a Mr. Hammett, one of the accused.

While residing in Clermont, some person informed Mary that she was free; that her master having sent her to a free State, had thereby emancipated her. So she resolved to put the matter to the proof, and accordingly, on the 5th of July, left the services of Mrs. P., and was by some one taken to Mr. Sloane's, where she remained until seized by the claimants. The black woman Mary was admitted to testify as a witness in the case, the first case of the kind in Highland since the repeal of the Black Laws. Her testimony, it is said, was calm, clear, and deliberate—without confusion or hesitation, and duly corroborated by the testimony of others.

THE FREE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF WEST ALEXANDER.

West Alexander, Washington Co., Pa., *September* 17, 1849.

Friend G. Bailey: The enclosed printed address of the Free Presbyterian Church of West Alexander to the Session and Members of the Old School Presbyterian Church of West Alexander, you will please to give place as soon as convenient. We have no organ to let our views be known, and as the Presbyteries meet shortly, likewise the *Synods*, we hope, as your paper has a circulation generally in our Union, it may meet the eye of some one in this large body who will, if we are wrong, put us right.

Yours, John McCoy.

To the Session and Members of the Presbyterian Church of West Alexander:

Dear Brethren: You are doubtless already apprized that we have withdrawn from your communion, and through you have declined the jurisdiction of the higher courts of your church. Respect for you and justice to ourselves demand an exposition of the cause which has led to this separation. And, wishing to avoid circumlocution, we state explicitly and at once, that our reason is, we believe our connection with you *involved us in the guilt and shame of supporting American Slavery.*

Of Slavery in our land we deem it necessary to say but little. Its moral character is not an open question. It is a crime well defined, and the man who cannot see its inherent sinfulness (in the language of R. J. Breckenridge) "has simply no moral sense."

American slavery denies the sovereignty of God and the free agency of man. The language of the "slave code" in the States where it exists is, "a slave is one who is in the power of his master to whom he belongs. He can do nothing, possess nothing, nor acquire anything but what must belong to his master—he shall know no authority but the authority of the master." Thus the first stroke of slavery is at the sovereignty of God. The words of one of your own Synods (the Synod of Kentucky) are, "God alone is Lord of the conscience;" but our system, defrauding alike the Creator and the slave, assumes this high prerogative of Deity." The slaveholder is one who holds his brother—the child of the same common parent—the possessor of the same nature, sensibilities, and affections—as an article of property. He writes God's image in his leger as a chattel, and may, and does, under the sanction of law, traffic in immortal spirits redeemed by the precious blood of Christ. The relation (the innocence of which is extensively asserted in your church) is the relation between owner and property. In this, in our judgment, is its unutterable wickedness, and from this, as its natural and necessary fruits, grow all those enormities, usually termed "the abuses of slavery." On this point, also, we give you the testimony of the Synod of Kentucky. After enumerating these enormities, they say, "they are not *excrescences* on the system—they are the *system itself*—they are its essential constituent parts." The right to own, implies the right to buy or sell—to work without wages—to use so much force as may be necessary to extort unwilling labor, &c. A right includes all necessary power to enforce it; hence there can be no abuse of slavery.

But we will not go into argument on this subject; we are satisfied with the definition of slavery given by your own General Assembly, and we can say nothing worse of it or its supporters than they have said. In A. D. 1794, in a note under the 8th Command, the Assembly says, "stealers of men are, all those who bring off slaves or freemen, and *keep*, buy, or sell them." And again, that "the Apostle classes them with sinners of the first rank." In 1818, giving a full expression of their views of slavery, they say, "it is a gross violation of the most precious and sacred rights of human nature, utterly inconsistent with the law of God, and totally irreconcilable with the spirit and principles of the gospel of Christ." We endorse these sentiments. We also endorse the sentiment of John Wesley, that "slavery is the sum of all villanies." We approve the language recently uttered by R. J. Breckenridge, (himself a slaveholder,) in which he denounces slavery as "the most atrocious of all human institutions." We agree, moreover, with Scott, the Commentator, that it is "a most detestable and anti-Christian practice, fit only for Babylon the great." Now, it is our solemn conviction, that "a most detestable and anti-Christian practice"—that "the most atrocious of all human institutions"—that "the sum of all villanies"—that "a gross violation of the most precious and sacred rights of human nature"—a "sin of the first rank," and "man-stealing," ought to be "a bar to Christian communion." Your General Assembly, in 1845, said the church was organized on the conceded principle that it is "no bar," and in 1849, boast that this course has gained the "confidence of the slaveholders." For this, we have been compelled to withdraw. If a "sin of the first rank" is no bar to Christian communion, we cannot see how a sin of less rank should be. If "the sum of *all* villanies" should not exclude a man from church fellowship, why should any particular villany exclude him? If "the most atrocious of all human institutions" is nothing to a man's standing in your church, how can you object on the score of lesser acrocities? If "a most detestable and anti-Christian practice" is not cast out of the church, we are at a loss to know what should be.

We proceed to give reasons, showing that connection with your church involves in the guilt and shame of supporting this "most atrocious institution."

1st. *The Old Presbyterian Church has done much to make it respectable.* It is notorious that leading men in your church—Elders, Ministers, Doctors of Divinity, Theological Professors, &c., are *slaveholders.* It is equally notorious, that in Southern States, members of your church are engaged, like others, in working, buying, and selling their fellow-men. These things pass without rebuke or discipline; for the testimony of the Synod of Kentucky, where slavery exists in its mildest form, is, "that cases occur in our own denomination, where professors of the religion of mercy sell the mother from her children into merciless and returnless exile, and yet discipline rarely follows such conduct." So far from the practice and advocacy of slavery being disreputable in the church, it is only its faithful and consistent opposers that lose *caste.* Faithful anti-slavery men are proscribed and persecuted, while the guilty slaveholder, and his more guilty apologists, are welcomed into parlor and pulpit, North and South. Thus the *influence* and popularity of the church are thrown around the oppressor and his wrong-doing. And since the aggregate influence of the church is composed of the individual influence of her members, *every member* throws his or her influence into this common treasury. Now, we cannot consent that our influence shall longer be used to encourage and prop up "the most atrocious of all human institutions." Perhaps we are told our influence is small. We cheerfully admit it; but if small, it is all we have, and we can therefore less afford to have it perverted.

2d. *By our connection with your Church we were compelled to hold Christian communion with the oppressor.* All Presbyterians hold to the unity of the church. That those of any particular denomination form but one communion, however numerous the congregations may be, will not be denied by you. Since, then, it has already been settled by the highest court of your church, from the decision of which there is no appeal, that slaveholding is no bar to communion, it is the *law* of the church that every member who sits at the communion table must commune with the slaveholder—with those guilty (according to your own Assembly) "of the highest kind of theft." Now, the act of Christian communion with the oppressor, or any one else, is an endorsement of his *public*, known character. It is virtually saying to him, we know nothing against your public character—we are aware of nothing you have done that ought to exclude you from fellowship in the church. Again: the act of communing with another, is saying, most emphatically, that we take pleasure in his character. The communion of saints is not only with their Head, but with each other. Then, though personally we hold no slaves, we "take pleasure in them that do."

On the sinfulness of this, the Holy Scriptures are explicit. "Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them." Eph. v, 11. If slavery be not an "unfruitful work of darkness," then there is no such work. If declaring it no bar to Christian communion be not holding fellowship with it, then is such fellowship a simple impossibility.

Again: Paul says, "I wrote unto you in an epistle, not to keep company with fornicators; yet not altogether with the fornicators of this world, or with the covetous, or extortioners, or with idolators; for then must you needs go out of the world. But now I have written unto you not to keep company, *if any man that is called a brother* be a fornicator, or covetous, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner; with such an one, no, not to eat." 1 Cor. v, 9, 11. If slavery be not extortion, there can be no extortion. If the man who "useth his neighbor's service without wages, and giveth him not for his work," is not an extortioner and covetous, such an one cannot be found.

But the injunction of the Apostle is, that if any man "called a brother"—that is, a brother in the church, (for all mankind are brothers by creation,) be guilty of the crime, with such an one to have no fellowship, "no, not to eat." Now, if this means eating the Lord's Supper, the point is settled. If it mean eating a common meal, still more is it settled; for as the Lord's table is holier than the social board, that which unfits a man for the latter, unfits him for the former. In Rev. xviii, 4, we find written, "Come out of her, my people, that ye partake not of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues." Thomas Scott says, "This summons concerns *all persons in every age;* they who believe in Christ, and worship God in spirit, should separate from so corrupt a church, and from all others that copy her example of idolatry, persecution, cruelty, and tyranny." If slavery is not cruelty and tyranny, where can tyranny and cruelty be found? Again: 2 Thes. iii, 6, "Now, I command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly." We have not room to multiply quotations.

If we are still told, you have no slaveholders in the Church of West Alexander, we reply, whoever may be the *slave-owners*, they are emphatically the *slaveholders*, who vote for pro-slavery law-makers, and fellowship slavery at the communion table. You have these, and we sincerely believe that the man who, in the light of a free State, supports slavery, is worse than the man who, reared in the darkness of a slave State, practices it. But that you have power to keep the slaveholders from your *individual church*, is not the fact. Suppose a slaveholder from the South—leaving his *chattels* under the lash of an overseer—comes among you, and presents a certificate of membership in the church, if disposed to reject him, you *dare* not; for he can carry his appeal (if necessary) to the General Assembly, and that body has already declared his conduct "no bar to Christian communion." There is, hence, no possible way to avoid being *forced* to commune with such characters, except the one we have taken—to quietly withdraw, and seek connection with a church not blackened with the "plague-spot" of slavery. We might, dear brethren, add many reasons, but we name only one other. *Through the institutions of your church, slavery is built up and strengthened in the church.* The Boards of Foreign and Domestic Missions have laborers in slaveholding communities constantly receiving practical slaveholders into the church. For, as the General Assembly has said slaveholding is no reason why a man should be excluded from the church, the missionary has no right to exclude him; hence our contributions to your "Boards" might, and probably would, go to build up that system in the church, which we believe is bringing God's curse upon her. If told we can contribute through other channels, we answer, we are unwilling longer to remain in a church into whose treasury of benevolence we cannot conscientiously throw our mite. With these as our solemn convictions, we have been compelled to withdraw from our former ecclesiastical connection. If we are still charged with "one ideaism," "schism," and "disturbing the peace of the church," we repel the charge. You and your General Assembly are emphatically the men of "one idea"—you make slavery an exception in the category of sins. We place all on the same level. We would have left you as soon, had you pronounced drunkenness, or profanity, or polygamy, or idolatry, "no bar to Christian communion." Such a decision, in regard to any one of these, or any other open sin, would justly subject *you* to the charge of schism—of destroying the unity of faith and doctrine as well as the bond of *peace.* Surely, then, the charge is not less applicable, when that which you yourselves have called "a sin of the first rank," is declared no ground of church censure. Shall we again be told that "Christ communed with Judas, knowing him to be a thief and a murderer, and that we may therefore commune with the oppressor?" If this is correct reasoning, it will do away church discipline entirely. Let us apply it to another case. A member of your church, we will suppose, plunders the house and murders the family of your aged Pastor—his criminality is known to you all—at the next communion season he comes forward to your table—he is promptly informed he cannot take his seat—he is guilty of theft and murder. With a look of assurance, almost of defiance, he asks, "Has not our Pastor told us 'Christ communed with Judas,' knowing him to be a thief and a murderer? I am nothing more, and dare you 'pretend to be more holy than Christ?'" From this illustration, we may see how much weight such sophistry should have with regard to communing with slaveholders. But the teachings of your own Divines, however, until recently, has been, that Christ, in eating the Passover with Judas, taught practically to his disciples the lesson that the tree should be known by its fruits—that Christians must be judged by their external acts, and that it was his prerogative to look into the heart. Had Judas been publicly known as a murderer at the time of his eating the Passover with Christ, then his case might have some pertinency to the case of the slaveholder; but that he was not thus known is evident from the fact that when Christ said to his disciples, "one of you shall betray me," they began every one of them to say, "Lord is it I?"—no one seeming to suspect Judas. But we are also told that "slavery is supported by the laws, while other sins are not." True, but they certainly are *wicked* laws that support what your own General Assembly has declared "totally irreconcilable with the spirit and principles of the Gospel of Christ." And who are responsible for those laws? Church members.

And with what consistency can church members labor to reform those laws, until they first "begin at Jerusalem"—first set the example by purging the church? Will not the men of the world be likely tauntingly to say, "first cast the beam out of your own eye"—first remodel the laws of your church, and then you can better understand to tamper with those of the State? God has built up his church in the world as his great agency of reform; and civil law, human talents, literature, and science, may all be brought to bear with full force for the abolition of any sin; still they will be inefficient, so long as the church fosters that sin in her communion.

If we are yet informed that "the tares and the wheat must grow together," we say, Christ said so, but he also said, "the field is the world," not the *church* "*the world.*" We shall notice but one more point. Attempts have been made to work upon our feelings, by pointing to the dust of our "fathers who sleep in that grave yard" beside your church, as Christians, as members of that church. Now, we have no disposition to call in question the piety of our fathers; on the contrary, we believe they were Christians—we believe, also, that your church has been enriched with Divine influences—has been favored with effusions of the Holy Spirit—that through it, as an instrumentality, sinners have been converted to God, and that in it now there are many true friends of Christ, whom we love and are pained to leave. But the Jews were once God's chosen people; have their descendants therefore a right to claim they are now a church of Christ? Even after they had become apostate, and were doomed to be cast off, many were converted in their church and under their preaching; yet this did not avert the catastrophe that awaited them.

The Pharisees could boast, "we have Abraham to our father;" they were also strict in religious observances; but these things did not shield them from the reproofs of the Messiah. The Romanists can prove they are a true church also, by pointing to their fathers, &c.; and it is a conceded point among the Protestants, that the Romish church was once a true church—that, even in her worst times, she had her pious members—that she has them now; and yet all believe she is corrupt, and that the Reformers did right in seceding from her communion. It is generally admitted that the true church was comprised within the Romish communion, previous to the Reformation; and when the Protestant secession took place, it was not on the principle that no true Christians were left, or that the Holy Spirit had ceased to operate there entirely, but because the church, as such, as a body, as governed, had become corrupt, and countenanced "anti-Christian practices"—things "utterly inconsistent with the law of God." This, we have shown from your own unrescinded acts, is your state now. The testimony of the church of our fathers, and that into which we were baptized, was, as already quoted, that all persons concerned in buying, selling, or *holding* their fellow-man in slavery, were *man-stealers.*

Most unhappily, however, for the peace and *purity* of the church, such characters were suffered to remain in her communion, contrary to the Divine directions, "Purge out, therefore the old leaven," "Know ye not that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump?" With uneasiness and pain we have witnessed its diffusion and growing strength, which from time to time succeeded in controlling the action of the Assembly, and fully developed itself in the year 1845, in the sale of the church of our fathers to the *man-stealing* interest. The Assembly of that year declared that "slavery, under the circumstances in which it is found in the Southern portion of the country, is no bar to Christian communion." The Assembly of the following year declared the expression of 1845 was not "intended to rescind or deny any former testimony on the subject of slavery." It was only intended, then, to say that *man-stealing*—that "gross violation of the most precious and sacred rights of human nature"—that practices "utterly inconsistent with the law of God, and totally irreconcilable with the spirit and principles of the Gospel of Christ," were "no bar to Christian communion." Thus was the church of our fathers sold, and her faith changed. We have not been able to subscribe the bloody bond. The word of God and our consciences cry out against the inhumanity to man and the treason to God. Still we continued our connection with you, through the vain hope that a reformation might be effected, and that we had an advocate for the right in the person of your Pastor. But this hope was truly vain. We have employed, as we thought, every Scriptural means for the accomplishment of this end—we have petitioned and remonstrated, but our remonstrances and petitions have been unavailing; and, in January last, your Pastor was pleased to tell us, from the pulpit, that our conscientious scruples—our adhesion to the faith of our fathers—was "one ideaed"—that it was the result of "pride and ignorance"—and that there was more hope of "the most rampant heathen," and that we seemed determined to carry our "cursed opinions" with us to our graves. The little star of hope, which had long trembled low in the horizon, now went down in despair. We saw no alternative left us but to escape to the Free Presbyterian Church, from which we now address you in the language of warning and of invitation. "*He that justifieth the wicked*, and he that condemneth the just, even they both are abomination to the Lord." Prov. xvii, 15. Now, how can you more fully justify the wicked than by fellowshipping him as a worthy Christian—holding Christian communion with men-stealers? "When thou sawest a" *man*-"thief, then thou consentedst with him." Ps. l, 18. We wish to bring no railing accusation against you, but the Judgment Seat, with its awful disclosures, is but a little before us all. At that dread tribunal we must meet the scourged and outraged slave. When the Judge shall put the solemn question, "How treated you these, my wronged and suffering children on earth?" we feel it will be awful to be compelled to answer, "Lord, we gave our name and influence to a church that used its powers to perpetuate their wrongs." Brethren, we regard your position as dangerous

We extend to you the hand of invitation.

In the language of Moses to Hobab, "Come thou with us, and whatsoever good the Lord will do for us, the same will we do to you." In the fullness of our hearts, we invite you to our platform and our communion. Our warning and our invitation we leave with you. Should you choose to disregard the one and slight the other, we bid you a tender and affectionate farewell.

Yours, in behalf of the Free Presbyterian Church of West Alexander,

Isaac Sutherland,
Peregrine Whittam, } Committee.
Hanson Murray,

West Alexander, Aug. 30, 1849.

From the Pennsylvania Enquirer.

TENDENCY TO EXTREMES.

Thomas Jefferson remarked, that he never heard any man complain that he had eaten *too little*, whilst he had often heard them say that they had eaten *too much.* Had he lived in these cholera times, he might have borne a different testimony. At present there are thousands of prudent people who have been so careful and abstemious in their diet, so afraid to eat this, that, or the other, that they have not eaten sufficient to keep up the tone of the system to the full standard of health; and although they may not at present perceive any very decided ill effects from these voluntary restrictions, yet the time must arrive when they will find their strength and their spirits fail. At first, the only perceptible consequence may be a slight lassitude, a disinclination for active bodily exertion. This will be followed by a derangement of the digestive functions; and dyspepsia, nervous and other ailments, will follow their unnatural mode of living.

Men are apt to go from one extreme to the other. Those who, before the arrival of the cholera, were in the habit of eating too much, became alarmed, and latterly have eaten too little: for such as these, *a course of hydropathic treatment* would be beneficial. We have seen men and women who suffered from indigestion until they "dreaded the pain arising from eating, more than they did the pangs of hunger," after trying the water treatment for a couple of weeks, sit down to the table, and demolish a plateful of good, plain, wholesome diet, with an avidity that would not have disgraced a ploughman, without experiencing the smallest inconvenience therefrom! On the contrary, those whose spirits were depressed, became cheerful and lively as a bird—the weak became strong, and the inert as active as a squirrel. We have witnessed this, time and again, to the no little delight and amusement of those who had been in the same condition, and of the patients themselves. Spectator.

BUSINESS NOTICES.

☞ As this paper is not sent to any new subscriber, unless paid for in advance, the reception of it will be a sufficient receipt.

☞ Agents or others having funds to forward are desired, if the amount be considerable, to purchase of some bank a draft on New York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore. Smaller amounts may be transmitted by mail, observing, when convenient, to send large bills on New England, New York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore banks. Do not send certificates of deposite.

☞ Any clergyman who will procure four subscribers, and send us eight dollars, may have a fifth copy gratis for one year.

☞ Mr. V. B. Palmer, at his newspaper agency, New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Baltimore, is duly authorized to procure advertisements for this paper.

☞ Within the last week we have received two or three requests to have the direction of papers changed, without informing us to what post office, county, or State, the papers have heretofore been sent. Without these, we cannot change the direction.

☞ Agents and others, in sending names, are requested to be very particular, and have each letter distinct. Give the name of the *Post Office*, the *County*, and the *State.*

☞ Accounts are kept with *each subscriber*, and when we receive money from him on his subscription, it is immediately passed to his credit.

☞ Agents will notice that we keep an account with each subscriber. Hence no accounts will be kept with the agents; and in transmitting moneys on which they are entitled to a commission, they will retain the amount of their commission, and, *in all cases*, forward the money with the names, so as to make the account even at each remittance.

☞ Agents and others who wish to send us fractional parts of a dollar, can now do so without increasing the postage, by remitting *pre-paid post office stamps*, which can now be obtained at any post office.

☞ We invite the attention of those who are remitting moneys to the following table, showing the rate of discount on uncurrent money in this city. We earnestly hope that those who send money will endeavor to send such bank bills as are at the lowest discount:

Washington, D. C.	Par.	Maryland	1-2 dis.
Baltimore	Par.	Virginia	3-4 dis.
Philadelphia	Par.	Western Virginia	1 1-2 dis.
New York city	Par.	Ohio	2 1-4 dis.
New York State	3-4 dis.	Indiana	2 1-4 dis.
New England	1-2 dis.	Kentucky	2 1-4 dis.
New Jersey	3-4 dis.	Tennessee	3 1-2 dis.
Eastern Penn.	3-4 dis.	Michigan	3 dis.
Western Penn.	1 1-2 dis.	Canada	5 dis.

COMMISSION STORE.

WM. GUNNISON, *General Commission Merchant*, 101 *Bowly's Wharf, Baltimore, Md.* Dec. 23.—1y

FIRE-PROOF CHESTS.

PATENT Salamander Soapstone lined Iron Chests, that will stand more fire than any others made in this country. Also, a large supply of Patent Air Chamber Iron Chests, 700 now in use, and we still make chests in the ordinary way, at very low prices. Slate-lined Refrigerators, Water Filters, Portable Water Closets for the sick and infirm. Seal and Letter Copying Presses, Fire-Proof Doors for Banks and Stores. EVANS & WATSON, 76 South Third street, Philadelphia.

N. B. Country Merchants are invited to call and examine for themselves, before purchasing elsewhere. Feb. 1.

LAW OFFICE, CINCINNATI.

BIRNEY & SHIELDS, Attorneys at Law, corner of Main and Court streets, Cincinnati.

JAMES BIRNEY, Notary Public and Commissioner to take acknowledgments of deeds and depositions for the States of Maine, Vermont, Connecticut, Michigan, New Hampshire, Missouri, Illinois, Tennessee, New York, and Arkansas. Jan. 6.—tf

LAW OFFICE, COLUMBUS, O.

WILLIAM B. JARVIS, Jun., *Attorney and Counsellor at Law*, Columbus, Ohio. Office in Platt's new building, State street, opposite south door of State House.

Business connected with the profession, of all kinds, punctually attended to Jan. 28.

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MERCHANTS from the South and West would be amply recompensed by making cheap purchases for cash, by calling at the Carpet, Oil Cloth, and Window Shade Depot, Nos. 18 and 20 North Second street, Philadelphia, second floor, one door below Christ Church.

Three thousand pieces of Wilton, Brussels, Imperial, Ingrain, Damask, and Venitian Carpetings, with Oil Cloths Mats Rugs, Looking Glasses, Blinds, Window Shades, and Mattings, wholesale and retail, very low.

☞ Liberal advances made on consignments of Carpetings and Oil Cloths. J. SIDNEY JONES. March 15.—1am12t

DRS. MUSSEY,

MEDICAL Practitioners and Surgeons, north side of 7th street, two doors east of Vine street, Cincinnati, Ohio. R. D. MUSSEY, M. D. Jan. 4. W. H. MUSSEY, M. D.

MEDICAL CARD.

HARVEY LINDSLY, M. D., C street, next to the corner of Four-and-a-half street, Washington. May 24.

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OFFER for sale a full assortment of the desirable varieties of Fruit and Ornamental Trees, Shrubs, Roses, Vines, Camellias, Greenhouse Plants, &c.

For Particulars, see Catalogues, furnished gratis on application. Flushing, 9th month 20, 1849.—6t

VALUABLE PUBLICATIONS.

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Nathaniel P. Rogers.—The second edition of a collection from the writings of Nathaniel P. Rogers. Price, in neat cloth binding, $1.

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The above works are just published and for sale by

Sept. 27.—6m BELA MARSH, 25 Cornhill, Boston.

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Terms of Court, Cook County, Illinois.

County court—first Monday in February, May, and October.

Circuit court—second Monday in June and November.

☞ Demands for suit should be on hand twenty days before the first day of each term. Feb. 3.—1 yr. gr.

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CALVIN DE WOLF.
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GREAT IMPROVEMENT IN PLANING, TONGUEING AND GROOVING LUMBER.

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THE subscriber, having received letters patent for a stationary cutter, planing, tongueing and grooving machine, now offers for sale machines, and rights to use the same This machine will plane six thousand feet of boards to any uniform thickness, in one hour, producing a better finished surface than it is possible to plane by any other means now known, not excepting the hand plane, and is peculiarly adapted to plane and joint clapboards, or weather-boarding, and will do the work faster and better than any machine heretofore invented. This machine is so arranged that it planes the board with an unbroken shaving the whole width and length of the material, and does not take more than two-thirds of the power that is required to do an equal amount of work by the rotary cutting cylinder, now in common use. The construction and organization of this machine is different from any other now in use. Communications for further particulars cheerfully responded to, by addressing the subscriber, (post-paid,) Boston. Mass.

One of the above planing machines may be seen in operation by calling on the patentee.

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☞ The above Planing Machine has been thoroughly tested, by planing over 1,000,000 feet of lumber, and has planed 3,000 feet in seventeen minutes, and is adapted to stick any description of mouldings with great rapidity.

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A machine may be seen in operation soon at Buffalo, New York, and at the Planing Mill of Duncan Mangey, Louisville, Kentucky.

Communications for further particulars cheerfully responded to, by addressing either of the subscribers, post paid, Oswego, New York. STAATS & STEWART, For the State of New York.
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PUBLISHED by the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and for sale at their Depository in New York, at the following prices:

For one thousand copies	$20.00
For one hundred copies	2.50
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The Almanac has been compiled by the Corresponding Secretary of the Society, and includes twenty-three pages of valuable original matter by William Goodell. The price by the thousand is put at a trifle above the actual cost, in the expectation of selling large editions, and of securing the active co operation of Anti-Slavery friends throughout the country, who, it is hoped, will give to this important annual a wide and thorough circulation. The size is the same as the Almanac for 1849, viz: 48 pages.

Orders for Almanacs by the hundred or thousand will be promptly executed, and should state, definitely, by what *mode of conveyance* they can be sent. The postage on *every* Almanac *sent by mail* will be two and a half cents, without reference to the quantity.

Orders should invariably be accompanied by the cash. Any sum under one dollar may be sent in postage stamps.

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Sept. 20.—tf No. 61 John street, New York.

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THE PARKEVILLE HYDROPATHIC INSTITUTE,

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Terms, eight dollars per week, which includes board and treatment.

Application to be made to *Samuel Webb*, Secretary, No. 58 South Fourth street, Philadelphia.

Patients can take the steamboat for Red Bank, leaving Arch street wharf, Philadelphia, at 3 P. M., and at Red Bank take the Clarksborough stage, which goes direct to the Institute, arriving in time for supper. Sept. 20.—tf

OAK HALL, BOSTON,

Is universally acknowledged by all to be

The Largest, Cheapest, and Most Popular Clothing Establishment in the United States.

THIS spacious and fashionable Emporium, which is known throughout the civilized world as the cheapest and best place to purchase Clothing, sprung from a small beginning in 1842. Its present proprietor,

GEORGE W. SIMMONS,

Was its originator and projector. He believed that the enormous prices which were then charged for Clothing might be essentially reduced, and that the public would sustain him in making such reduction. His calculations have been more than realized. He commenced his business by making but a *small profit* upon the cost of the manufacture, and, by adhering strictly to the

Low Price System,

Has caused crowds of customers to flock to his Clothing House. So great was the business of the establishment, that he was obliged to

Rebuild in 1847.

Notwithstanding the large addition which was then erected, the room proved insufficient to accommodate the immense throngs which daily visited this Clothing Mart, and in 1849 be added a most

Magnificent Rotunda

To the long row of stores,

Nos. 32, 34, 36, *and* 38, *Ann Street,*

Extending from the street 180 feet, and covering an area of 10,000 feet, making altogether the most extensive Clothing Establishment in the country. The sales amount annually to about

Half a Million Dollars.

There are engaged in the establishment—

25 fashionable cutters and trimmers;
2 book-keepers;
1 cashier and assistant;
1 paymaster;
5 runners;
2 expresses;
30 salesmen;
3000 operatives.

This establishment has arrived at its present position by furnishing Clothing at the

Lowest Rates,

Which the proprietor was enabled to do by purchasing and manufacturing immense quantities of the

Most Fashionable Style of Goods,

And in this manner he gained the confidence of the community. As a specimen of the low rates at which Clothing is furnished, we annex the following list of

PRICES.

Thin pants, a superior collection of every grade, quality, and quantity, from	$0 75	to	$2 50
Vests, a large assortment	75	to	1 50
Thin coats of every style	1 00	to	2 00
Thin jackets, 1,000 to 1,500 always on hand	75	to	1 25
Riding and shooting pants, made from linen drilling, &c.	1 25	to	2 50
Mixed cassimere pants	2 75	to	3 50
Drab and blue pants	3 50	to	5 00
Dosskin pants, fancy shades	5 00	to	6 00
(All grades, cut, quantity and quality of the above pants.)			
Fine shirts, linen bosoms, &c.	1 00	to	1 25
Mixed business coats	7 00	to	8 50
Green business coats	8 50	to	10 00
Dress coats	10 00	to	14 00
Brook coats	10 00	to	15 00
(Every shade of color, such as dahlia, green, royal purple, drake-neck, black, blue, &c.)			
Hunting coats, some new styles of diamond velvets	4 50	to	5 00
Pilot cloth coats	4 00	to	15 00
Beaver cloth coats	6 00	to	17 00
Broadcloth and pilot coats, with silk velvet facings and collars, lined, wadded, and tufted with silk—a splendid article, got up in the very best style	10 00	to	20 00
Broadcloth surtouts	10 00	to	15 00
Elegant dressing gowns	3 50	to	8 00
Ladies riding habits	4 00	to	10 00
Summer coats—look as well as cloth—silk faced	5 00	to	7 00
Professional summer suits—wear and look as well as cloth	10 00	to	15 00
An entire suit of thin clothes	2 00	to	5 00
Rich scarfs, cravats, and stocks	25	to	1 00
Elegant suspenders and socks	25	to	75

Walking sticks, valises, carpet bags, smoking caps, umbrellas, &c. &c.

Linen shirts, bosoms, collars, gloves, &c. &c., at customers' OWN PRICES.

All orders from any part of the world executed at the shortest notice and in the best style, from furnishing a single garment to

Clothing a Regiment.

Gentlemen, when you come to Boston, be sure and secure a good bargain, by calling at

SIMMONS' OAK HALL,
Nos. 32, 34, 36, *and* 38, *Ann Street,*
BOSTON.

August 16—3m

TO INVENTORS.

THE subscribers offer their services to persons wishing to obtain patents in the United States or in foreign countries, and will prepare specifications and drawings, and take all necessary steps to secure a patent.

From their long experience as practical mechanics, added to a thorough knowledge of the Patent Laws, and acquaintance with the details connected with the business of the Patent Office, they trust they will be able to give satisfaction to their employers, both in the clearness and precision of their specifications, and in the promptness and ability with which they transact all business intrusted to them.

Persons residing at a distance may procure all necessary information, have their business transacted, and obtain a patent, by writing to the subscribers, without incurring the expense of a personal attendance at Washington.

Models can be sent with perfect safety by the Expresses.

Rough sketches and descriptions can be sent by mail.

For evidence of their competence and integrity, they would respectfully refer to all those for whom they have transacted business.

Letters must be post paid.

Office on F street, opposite the Patent Office.

P. H. WATSON.
June 7. E. S. RENWICK.

LARD OIL.

IMPROVED LARD OIL.—Lard Oil of the finest quality, equal to sperm for combustion, also for machinery and woollens, being manufactured without acids, can always be purchased and shipped in strong barrels, prepared expressly to prevent leakage. Orders received and executed for the Lake, Atlantic, and Southern cities, also for the West Indies and Canadas. Apply to

THOMAS EMERY, Lard Oil Manufacturer,
Jan. 20. 33 Water street, near Walnut, Cincinnati, O.

LARD FOR OIL.

LARD WANTED.—Cash paid for corn, mast, and slop-fed Lard. Apply to

THOMAS EMERY, Lard Oil Manufacturer,
Jan. 20. 33 Water street, near Walnut, Cincinnati, O.

FITS! FITS!! FITS!!!

DR. HART'S VEGETABLE EXTRACT.

THE astonishing success which has attended the use of this invaluable medicine for epileptic fits, (or falling sickness,) spasms, cramps, convulsions, &c., renders it the most valuable medicine ever discovered. In fact, as a remedy for the above diseases, it stands unrivalled and alone. There is no other reliable remedy. It has been said that epilepsy is incurable. This, however, is not the fact. Dr. Hart's Vegetable Extract has and is constantly curing this distressing complaint, as the following testimony, received from physicians and others, will show:

Judge Randall, 156 Henry street, New York, having used the Vegetable Extract successfully in his family, highly recommends it to all persons who are afflicted with fits.

Mr. Stephen E. Pratt, corner of Sixth avenue and Twenty-sixth street, New York, states that Mr. Charles H. Boughton, a member of his family, had been so severely afflicted with epileptic fits for many years, that he was obliged to relinquish his business. Having used Dr. Hart's Vegetable Extract, (says Mr. Pratt,) he was soon restored to perfect health, and left this city for the State of Ohio, to resume his business.

Rev. Mr. Smith, Rector of St. Peter's church, Spotswood, New Jersey, who has been afflicted with epileptic fits for more than forty years, states that he has used Dr. Hart's Vegetable Extract, and his health has been so much improved, that he hopes by Divine blessing to have no more fits.

Epileptic Fits,

Of twenty-seven years and six months, cured by the use of this truly wonderful medicine.

Read the following remarkable case of the son of William Secore, Esq., of Philadelphia, afflicted with epileptic fits twenty-seven years and six months. After travelling through England, Scotland, Germany, and France, consulting the most eminent physicians, and expending, for medicine, medical treatment and advice three thousand dollars, returned with his son to this country in November last, without receiving any benefit whatever, and was cured by using Dr. Hart's Vegetable Extract.

Mr. William Secore's letter to Dr. Hart.

I have spent over three thousand dollars for medicine and medical attendance. I was advised to take a tour to Europe with him, which I did. I first visited England. I consulted the most eminent physicians there in respect to his case; they examined him, and prescribed accordingly. I remained there three months without perceiving any change for the better, which cost me about two hundred and fifty dollars, pocketed by the physicians; and the most that I received was their opinion that my son's case was hopeless, and

Positively Incurable.

I accordingly left England, travelled through Scotland, Germany, and France, and returned home in the month of November last, with my son as far from being cured as when I left. I saw your advertisement in one of the New York papers, and concluded to try Hart's Vegetable Extract, seeing your statements and certificates of so many cures, some of twenty and thirty years' standing; and I can assure you I am not sorry I did so, as by the use of Hart's Vegetable Extract alone he was restored to

Perfect Health.

His reason, which was so far gone as to unfit him for business, is entirely restored with the prospect now before him of life, health, and usefulness. He is now twenty-eight years of age, and twenty-seven years and six months of this time has been afflicted with this most dreadful of diseases, but, thank God, is now enjoying good health.

Now, sir, faith without works I don't believe in. To say I shall be ever grateful to you is one thing; and as I here enclose you one hundred dollars, I have no doubt you will consider this another and quite a different thing The debt of gratitude I still owe you; but please accept this amount as interest on the debt in advance.

Yours, very respectfully, WILLIAM SECORE.

Two Remarkable Cures.

Bangor, Maine, *June* 5, 1849.

Gentlemen: I have the pleasure of informing you that Dr. Hart's Vegetable Extract has been the means of effecting a complete cure of a married lady who has been afflicted with fits four years. I have another case of a girl in the city, who has been afflicted with fits four years. Her age is sixteen. I have the pleasure of informing you that in both cases a complete cure has been effected by the use of Dr. Hart's Vegetable Extract. In haste, I remain yours,

DAVID BUGBEE.

Messrs. Thomas & Miles.

The Time is not Far Distant,

When thousands who are now trembling under the hand of this dreadful disease, and fearing that every attack may prove fatal, will find permanent relief, and be restored to new life, by using this celebrated medicine.

Over One Thousand Certificates

Have been received in testimony of the beneficial results produced by the use of Dr. Hart's Vegetable Extract.

☞ Prepared by S. HART, M. D., New York.

Price: One package	$3.00
Four packages	10.00
Eight packages	20.00

☞ It is carefully packed up in boxes for transportation, and sent to any part of the United States, Mexico, and West Indies.

This valuable medicine can be obtained of the following agents:

A. B. & D. Sands, corner of William and Fulton streets, New York.

Abel Tompkins 38 Cornhill, and Seth W. Fowle, Boston.

Dr. Dyott, 132 North Second street, Philadelphia.

Seth S. Hauce, 108 Baltimore street, Baltimore.

E. & H. Gaylord, Cleveland. J. H. Reed & Co., Chicago.

G. F. Thomas, (late Thomas & Miles,) 169 Main street, Cincinnati, Ohio. Sept. 6—eotNov16

OLD DOCTOR JACOB TOWNSEND,

THE ORIGINAL DISCOVERER OF

THE GENUINE TOWNSEND SARSAPARILLA.

OLD Dr. Townsend is now about seventy years of age, and has long been known as the Author and Discoverer of the genuine original "*Townsend Sarsaparilla.*" Being poor, he was compelled to limit its manufacture, by which means it has been kept out of market, and the sales circumscribed to those only who had proved its worth and known its value. It had reached the ears of many, nevertheless, as those persons who had been healed of sore diseases, and saved from death, proclaimed its excellence and wonderful healing power. This

Grand and Unequalled Preparation

is manufactured on the largest scale, and is called for throughout the length and breadth of the land.

Unlike young S. P. Townsend's, it improves with age, and never changes, but for the better; because it is prepared on scientific principles, by a scientific man. The highest knowledge of Chemistry, and the latest discoveries of the Art, have all been brought into requisition in the manufacture of the *Old Doctor's Sarsaparilla.* The Sarsaparilla root, it is well known to medical men, contains many medicinal properties, and some properties which are inert or useless; and others, which, if retained in preparing it for use, produce fermentation and *acid*, which is injurious to the system. Some of the properties of Sarsaparilla are so volatile, that they entirely evaporate and are lost in the preparation, if they are not preserved by a scientific process, known only to those experienced in its manufacture. Moreover, these volatile principles, which fly off in vapor, or as an exhalation, under heat, are the very essential medical properties of the root, which give to it all its value. The

Genuine Old Dr. Jacob Townsend's Sarsaparilla

is so prepared, that all the inert properties of the Sarsaparilla root are first removed, everything capable of becoming acid or of fermentation is extracted and rejected; then every particle of medical virtue is secured in a pure and concentrated form; and thus it is rendered incapable of losing any of its valuable and healing properties. Prepared in this way, it is made the most powerful agent in the

Cure of Innumerable Diseases.

Hence the reason why we hear commendations on every side, in its favor, by men, women, and children. We find it doing wonders in the cure of *Consumption, Dyspepsia*, and *Liver Complaint*, and in *Rheumatism, Scrofula*, and *Piles, Costiveness*, all *Cutaneous Eruptions, Pimples, Blotches*, and all affections arising from

Impurity of the Blood.

It possesses a marvellous efficacy in all complaints arising from indigestion, from acidity of the stomach, from unequal circulation, determination of blood to the head, palpitation of the heart, cold feet and cold hands, cold chills and hot flashes over the body. It has not had its equal in coughs and colds, and promotes easy expectoration and gentle perspiration, relaxing stricture of the lungs, throat, and every other part.

But in nothing is its excellence more manifestly seen and acknowledged than in all kinds and stages of

Female Complaints.

It works wonders in cases of *fluor albus* or whites, falling of the womb, obstructed, suppressed, or painful menses, irregularity of the menstrual periods, and the like; and is effectual in curing all forms of the kidney disease.

By removing obstructions, and regulating the general system, it gives tone and strength to the whole body, and cures all forms of

Nervous Diseases and Debility,

and thus prevents or relieves a great variety of other diseases, as spinal irritation, neuralgia, St. Vitus dance, swooning, epileptic fits, convulsions, &c.

Is not this, then,

The Medicine you Pre-eminently Need?

But can any of these things be said of S. P. Townsend's inferior article? This young man's liquid is not to be

Compared with the Old Dr.'s,

because of one *Grand Fact*, that the one is *Incapable of Deterioration* and

Never Spoils,

while the other does; it sours, ferments, and blows the bottles containing it into fragments; the sour, acid liquid exploding, and damaging other goods! Must not this horrible compound be poisonous to the system? *What! put acid* into a system already diseased with acid! What causes dyspepsia but acid? Do we not all know, that when food sours in our stomachs, what mischief it produces!—flatulence, heartburn, palpitation of the heart, liver complaint, diarrhœa, dysentery, colic, and corruption of the blood? What is scrofula but an acid humor in the body? What produces all the humors which bring on eruptions of the skin, scald head, salt rheum, erysipelas, white swellings, fever-sores, and all ulcerations, internal and external? It is nothing under heaven but an acid substance, which sours, and thus spoils all the fluids of the body, more or less. What causes rheumatism, but a sour acid fluid, which insinuates itself between the joints and elsewhere, irritating and inflaming the tender and delicate tissues upon which it acts? So of nervous diseases, of impurity of the blood, of deranged circulations, and nearly all the ailments which afflict human nature.

Now, is it not horrible to make and sell, and infinitely worse to use, this

Souring, Fermenting, Acid "Compound" of S. P. Townsend!

and yet he would fain have it understood that Old Dr. Jacob Townsend's *Genuine Original Sarsaparilla*, is an *Imitation* of his inferior preparation!!

Heaven forbid that we should deal in an article which would bear the most distant resemblance to S. P. Townsend's article! and which should bring down upon the Old Dr such a mountain load of complaints and criminations from Agents who have sold, and purchasers who have used S. P. Townsend's *Fermenting Compound.*

We wish it understood, because it is the *absolute truth*, that S. P. Townsend's article and Old Dr. Jacob Townsend's Sarsaparilla are heaven wide apart, and infinitely dissimilar; that they are unlike in every particular, having not one single thing in common.

As S. P. Townsend is no doctor, and never was, is no chemist, no pharmaceutist—knows no more of medicine or disease than any other common, unscientific, unprofessional man, what guarantee can the public have that they are receiving a genuine scientific medicine, containing all the virtues of the articles used in preparing it, and which are incapable of changes which might render them the *agents of disease*, instead of health?

It is to arrest frauds upon the unfortunate, to pour balm into wounded humanity, to kindle hope in the despairing bosom, to restore health and bloom and vigor into the crushed and broken, and to banish infirmity—that OLD DR. JACOB TOWNSEND has *sought* and *found* the opportunity and means to bring his

Grand, Universal, Concentrated Remedy,

within the reach, and to the knowledge of all who need it, that they may learn and know, by joyful experience, its

Transcendent Power to Heal!

☞ For sale in Washington City by—

J. F. Callan Z. D. & W. H. Gilman
S. Butt M. Delany
April 12—13t Ridgely & Co.